

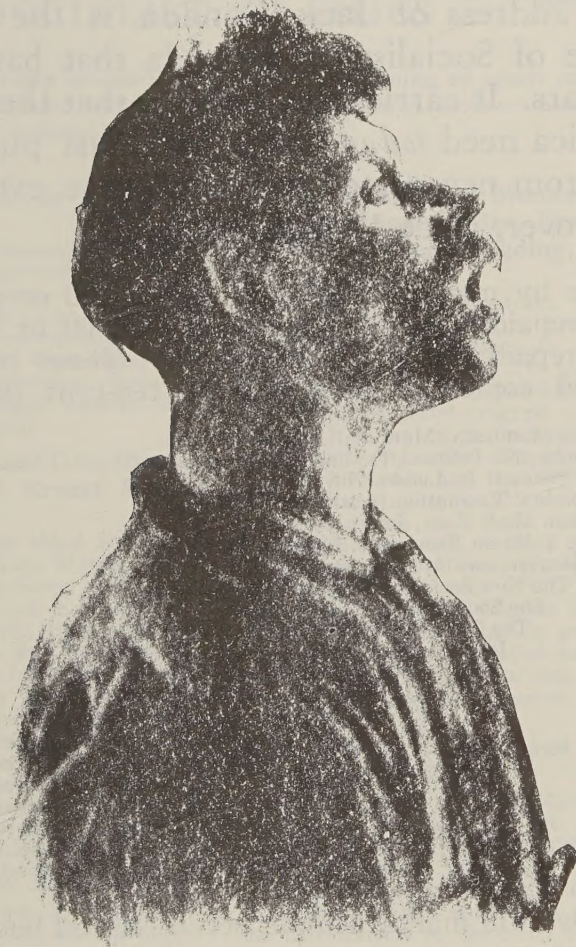
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*The*

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# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE  $\nabla$  FIGHTING  $\blacktriangle$  MAGAZINE  
OF  $\blacktriangle$  THE  $\nabla$  WORKING  $\blacktriangle$  CLASS



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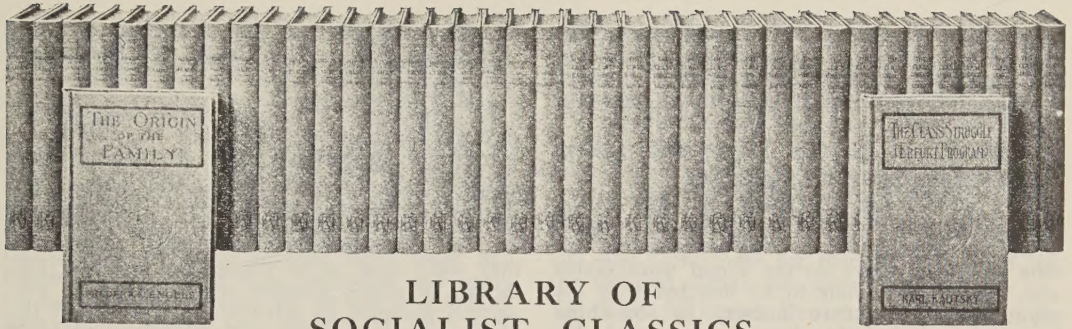
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This writer, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, recently deceased, was the most brilliant Socialist writer of France. The opening essay in this volume is a keen satire on the stupid workingmen who allow their minds to be infected with the capitalistic notion that industry is something beautiful and desirable for its own sake. He shows that if they were intelligent they would demand not "the right to work," but the right to be lazy, that is, to enjoy the comforts of life with no more labor than that really needed for producing them. Other studies in this volume are "Socialism and the Intellectuals," "The Bankruptcy of Capitalism," "The Woman Question," "The Socialist Ideal" and "The Rights of the Horse and the Rights of Man."

### 8. Evolution, Social and Organic, by Arthur M. Lewis.

For some five years, a large audience, made up almost entirely of wage-workers, has filled one of the largest theaters of Chicago every Sunday afternoon, to listen to a weekly lecture on Socialism or some kindred subject. The lecturer is Arthur M. Lewis, and this volume contains the substance of the first season's lectures, which attracted the crowds and laid the foundations for the permanent success of the lectures. In this volume he traces the growth of the theory of evolution from its fore-shadowing in the writings of the early Greek philosophers down to Darwin, Haeckel and Spencer, and also shows how the working-class theories of social evolution have gradually won their way to the front even in the minds of the theorists of the universities.

### 9. The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue.

This is a clear, concise history of "property rights" in the various forms of society from savagery to capitalism. It is full of ammunition to use on the conservative who is serene in the mistaken idea that there have always been rich and poor and who from this mistake goes on to conclude that rich and poor must continue to exist till the end of the world. Lafargue is always readable and this is one of his best books.

### 10. Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons.

Some Americans foolishly imagine that this country is so different from all others that no matter how clearly a law of social development may have been proved from the facts observed in Europe, it has no application in this country. This little book is a careful compilation of facts, each fact proved by references to standard historical authorities, which show beyond any reasonable doubt that the history of America, like the history of every other civilized country, has been made up of a continuous series of struggles between social classes, and that these struggles offer the one clear and complete explanation of the outward facts of United States history.

### 11. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Frederick Engels.

An American scientist, Lewis H. Morgan, through twenty years and more of original research into the customs of the Iroquois Indians, discovered a mass of vitally important facts throwing a flood of light on the early history of our own race. These facts were so revolutionary, so subversive of "respectable" ideas, that they were slow to be recognized at home (although Morgan's theories are by this time universally accepted by scientists). But one of the first to grasp the truth and significance of Morgan's work was Engels, the German Socialist, and he summed up Morgan's facts in popular, readable style in the present volume. In it among other things he shows that the position of woman at any time and place depends on the mode of production, that woman's social position has been repeatedly changed and will be changed again by economic changes, and that the overthrow of the capitalists, and nothing less than this, will give woman the freedom she demands. Catholics denounce this book of Engels as "free love." Study it for yourself and draw your own conclusions.

### 12. Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.

"Surplus Value" is one of the foundation principles of Socialism; until you have at least a fairly clear understanding of this, the less talking you do the better for the movement. For a thorough and complete understanding of this rather difficult subject it is necessary to go to Marx's "Capital," a work of over 2,500 pages, which sells for \$6.00. But for the ordinary reader this short work by the great writer will suffice unless the reader desires to become a public speaker or writer. The book briefly explains the process in modern machine production by which the employer buys the "labor power" of the wage-worker, pays for it just enough to keep the laborer alive and enable him to bring up children when he is worn out, while the laborer's product is sold and re-sold, yielding a profit to all the various members of the capitalist class and their hangers-on.

### 13. The World's Revolution, by Ernest Untermann.

This book is a vivid, eloquent story of the revolutions which have succeeded each other in the world's history. All history is full of revolutions, but only the Socialist historian can understand or explain their real meaning. In this book are chapters on the pre-historic revolutions by which the women were subjected to men, on the Roman Empire and the warring classes within it, on the early Christian proletariat and its mission, on the American Revolution of 1776 and its reflex in France, on the bourgeois revolutions in Europe which made the capitalist supreme in the place of the landed aristocrat, and on the Proletarian World Movement which is today not far from its final victory.

### 14. The Evolution of Man, by Wilhelm Boelsche.

The theories of Socialism are in one sense merely the general theory of Evolution applied



to the growth of society, and no one can have a clear idea of Socialism without some knowledge of Evolution. In this little volume we believe that we are offering the very best short work on this subject. Darwin wrote for specialists, and he had all of a scientist's caution in making no statement which he could not prove. When he first outlined his theory of the descent of man, many links in the chain of evidence were lacking. Later scientists, working in the light of Darwin's theory, have supplied these links, and Boelsche, one of the most successful and popular lecturers in Germany, has in this book traced, with ample proofs, the ancestry of man back through the ape-like fossils, the lower mammals, the reptiles, the fishes, the lower aquatic animals, down to the simplest structures consisting each of a single cell. Illustrated.

### **15. The Positive School of Criminology, by Ernest Ferri.**

This volume, consisting of three lectures delivered at the University of Naples, Italy, is an admirable summary of the Socialist theory of crime and criminals. Ferri shows that criminals are not, as earlier writers have supposed, a race of men different from others, which only needs to be rooted out in order to suppress crime. He shows that what we call crime is the direct and inevitable outgrowth of certain economic conditions, in other words, that most crime is caused by poverty, and that conditions which increase poverty must and do increase crime. Thus the way to abolish crime is to abolish poverty, and this means abolishing the capitalist, which is the aim of the Socialist movement.

### **16. Puritanism, by Clarence Meily.**

If you are a wage-worker, you probably have not much sympathy with puritanical ideas, but you might like to know why the puritans happen to be on earth, what they want, why they want it, what they are doing to you and how you are going to get rid of them. All this you will find fully and clearly explained in this book by Clarence Meily, a Los Angeles lawyer who is an active member of the Socialist Party.

### **17. Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History, by Karl Kautsky.**

One vital question which must be faced by every Socialist is our attitude toward capitalistic ideas of what is right and moral. If the capitalists had to depend on force to keep the workers in subjection, their rule would end at once, for what force they can command would be as nothing before a united working class. They maintain their rule by imposing such moral ideas as they like upon the children of the workers through the schools, the churches and the newspapers. To refute these ideas, the workers need a clear understanding of the basis of ethics, and to this understanding Kautsky's book here described will prove a most important help. It is in five parts: Ancient and Christian Ethics, The Ethical Systems of the Period of the Enlightenment, The Ethics of Kant, The Ethics of Darwinism, The Ethics of Marxism.

### **18. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, by Karl Marx.**

The history of France offers many striking

parallels with that of the United States and many important lessons for American wage-workers. This book contains the history of three eventful years during which Louis Bonaparte, a nephew of the first Napoleon, succeeded in destroying a so-called republic and establishing himself as emperor, which position he held until the German war of 1871. Marx shows how the fall of the republic was brought about by the cowardice and inefficiency of the little capitalists who cared more for their property than for the freedom of any one, even their own.

### **19. The Militant Proletariat, by Austin Lewis.**

This is a study of present conditions in the United States, and especially of the rebellious wage-workers who must and will take the lead in the final overthrow of capitalism. Its analysis of the Socialist and labor movements in this country will be a great help to the newcomer in clarifying his ideas regarding the controversies over tactics which are now raging. The author's conclusion is that while the middle-class, reactionary elements in the Socialist party may control its activities for a while, nevertheless the development of the class struggle on the economic field will more and more force the party into a revolutionary position and bring the militant proletariat into control.

### **20. Socialism, Positive and Negative, by Robert Rives LaMonte.**

A volume of thoughtful and stimulating essays. The first of these, "Science and Socialism," is one of the best short statements of Socialist principles ever written. The others, "Marxism and Ethics," "Instead of a Footnote," "The Nihilism of Socialism," "The Biogenetic Law," and "Kismet" are intended rather for advanced readers than for beginners. "The Biogenetic Law" will be a particular aid to self-understanding for the Socialist who comes from the capitalist or professional class and has only a book knowledge of the class struggle. It will help him to a healthy distrust of his own inherited prejudices and a healthy respect for the instinctive ideas of the wage-workers who are in the thick of the day-by-day fight against organized capital.

### **21. Vital Problems in Social Evolution, by Arthur M. Lewis.**

This is another valuable and interesting volume of lectures delivered at the Garrick Theater, Chicago. The titles are: "The Materialistic Conception of History," "The Social Revolution," "The Socialist Theory of Panics," "The Paris Commune," "Spalding on Social Questions," "Engel's Reply to Duehring," "The American Revolution and Thomas Paine," "Engels vs. Duehring on the Marxian Dialectic," "Value and Surplus Value," and "The Fallacies of Proudhon."

### **22. The Triumph of Life, by Wilhelm Boelsche.**

An illustrated volume of lectures by the author is "The Evolution of Man," considered by many critics to be even more interesting than the former work. The central thought of the book is the wonderful power of the life-force



throughout the universe, and its constant triumphs over the most hostile and unfavorable environments. One of the most interesting passages describes the fishes of the deep seas, miles below the surface.

**23. Memoirs of Karl Marx, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.**

To most readers Marx is a far-off name of a big-brained economist who solved weighty problems in the analysis of capitalism, only this and nothing more. But Liebknecht, who was Marx's companion for years during his exile in London, shows in these memoirs a delightfully human side of Marx, so that by the time you have finished reading this book you will love him as much as you admire him. Even those who know nothing of Marx's writings will find this one of the most charming biographies ever written.

**24. Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by Karl Marx.**

In Marx's darkest days of exile and poverty in London one preventive of starvation was a weekly check for five dollars which the New York Tribune sent him for a weekly letter on current events in Europe. He wrote these in English, for Marx was an accomplished linguist. One series of these letters dealt with the German Revolution of 1848 and the counter-revolution which followed it. After Marx's death his daughter Eleanor edited these letters for publication in the form in which they appear in our library. Here is a chapter of history written by the most competent observer in Europe at a time when the events described were the news of the hour.

**25. Anarchism and Socialism, by George Plechanoff.**

Probably every Socialist and every Socialist sympathizer meets occasional opponents whose only argument is to shout out the epithet of "anarchist." It is also a deplorable fact that certain members of the Socialist Party, caring more for political offices than for hastening the downfall of capitalism, apply the same epithet to other Socialists who differ from them over tactics. It is therefore worth while to know exactly what the difference is between Anarchism and Socialism, and this work, by a European Socialist whose standing in the party is unquestioned, gives this information in convenient form.

**26. Science and Revolution, by Ernest Untermann.**

This work is a history of the growth of the evolution theory from the time of the ancient Greek philosophers to the present day, and of the age-long struggle between science and religious superstition. With a wealth of detail the author shows how the wage-workers have constantly been on the side of science, while the

privileged classes have tried to suppress science and enthrone superstition. The final chapter is entitled "Materialist Monism, the Science and 'Religion' of the Proletariat."

The twenty-six volumes above described are arranged in such an order that if read consecutively they will give a clear idea of the fundamental principles and theories of Socialism. For the benefit, however, of any who may already have read part of them, or who find the description of any particular book uninteresting, we offer the option of substituting any of the following:

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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# *The* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

AUGUST, 1913

No. 2

## The Invisible Government

By Charles Edward Russell

THE whole world knows now the truth about the National Association of Manufacturers, just as the radicals have always asserted it. The whole world knows now what the Parrys really are and the Kirbys and Van Cleaves, just as the labor press and the radicals have always declared them to be. The world knows exactly by what methods these smug gentlemen were able to carry on their warfare against labor. It knows how much of lying and hypocrisy and slimy fraud there was in their pretenses about "freedom of contract" and "law and order."

Their "freedom of contract" was the freedom to make secret and disreputable arrangements for the votes of Congressmen; the law they believed in was the law of their own profits; the only order they upheld was their own to the end that they might get cheap labor and make more money.

The revelations are complete, documentary and unanswerable. There is no chance here to yell "Liar!" and "Muck Raker!" and make clamor serve for refutation. The National Association of Manufacturers has been unmasked, not by a vile Socialist or a "pernicious agitator," but by its own agent and from its own files. No one now need assert that it is a dangerous and lawless organization, working vast evil to society and the government; its own documents and records have proved it to be worse than that. Its members and leaders have shown in times past a marvelous command over abusive

speech. The worst things they have ever said about labor and labor leaders are but feeble indictments compared with the things they have now actually proved about themselves.

If every false charge they have brought against labor had been true, the men they denounced would have been infinitely less the enemies of the republic than they themselves are known now to be. There can be no public enemy so menacing as he that goes covertly to work to control the government for the exclusive benefit of a single powerful class and nullify the laws for his own advantage.

Also, unthinking, complacent, easy-going Americans have learned something else from these disclosures.

*For many years those that are so situated that they can see the inner phases of affairs have been steadily asserting that the actual government of this country was not the president, congress and the courts, not any body or power created or recognized by the Constitution, but always a combination of important business interests.*

These Interests were in fact the real, if invisible, government. They issued their orders and the puppets that filled the ostensible places of power, obeyed. We have said that these Interests never failed to get what they wanted; that their hands were discernible in every piece of important legislation; that they selected the cabinets and made or unmade laws as they pleased; that in this country the



people really had little to say about their affairs; that the real authority resided not in the people, but in a few rich men that were able to control the people's representatives and bedevil the government.

To this charge a great number of innocent old souls and some that were not so innocent were in the habit of responding with indignant denials and much denunciation. "It is utterly untrue," they were wont to say, "that the government of this country is controlled by the corporations and rich men." And now Colonel Mulhall and his irrefutable documents and 20,000 letters has settled for all time that the muckrakers and Socialists were telling the absolute truth.

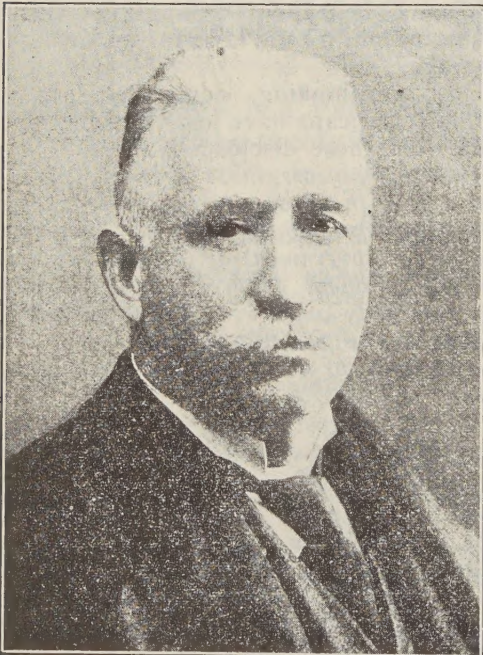
Not only that, but the world knows now the exact method by which the control was and is effected.

"There is very little corruption among public men in America," said recently an eminent authority. "Not many members of Congress can be bought on any terms whatever." Why, of course not. Why buy what you already own? When the National Association of Manufacturers goes into a Congress district, nominates a man of its own choice and supplies his

campaign fund, there would be no occasion to bribe him afterward. He is already bought and paid for. Bribery! Why, a man can be bribed with his own money as easily as with another man's. He can be bribed by his ambitions, political chances, or hopes of a career. He can be bribed by his wife's social aspirations. He can be bribed with a rich man's smile or an invitation to dinner. He can be bribed with the prospect of professional success, or the chance of good investments.

I have known many a member of Congress that was constantly under the influence of bribes of this sort and still never took a dollar for a vote and would not take one. And yet bribed just as truly as the most corrupt man that ever lived. Nearly all the members of both houses are lawyers, and lawyers are the easiest men in the world to bribe. They must have cases and a practice. Big Business has an immense patronage to dispense in the way of profitable cases. Scores of Congressmen have had cases that came direct from these controlling interests, and yet not one of them could ever be convicted of the least impropriety. A man cannot very well vote against his own client.

Where this kind of moral bribery is not enough, a great power like the National Association of Manufacturers, with unlimited money and a vast army of unscrupulous agents can wield an almost irresistible political dominion. As shown so clearly and repeatedly in the confessions of Mulhall, it can go into the district of a member that is not obedient to its order and beat him for renomination or at the polls. You can carry practically any election if you have money enough. It is not only the power to purchase votes and pile them up in the ballot box. There is another and far greater power in the hands of organized wealth. It can and does control the press and every day poison the minds of thousands of voters that never suspect the nature of the stuff they are imbibing. It is not direct attacks upon the doomed man that does the business. It is the continual raising of false issues and the distortion



"COLONEL" MULHALL.



of others, the things twisted in the news columns, the things subtly colored and turned that are effective now. The editorial opinion is worth very little. Big Business cares not much about the editorial utterances. But with the control of the news department it can do about as it pleases in any election.

Every Congressman wants to "get back." As soon as he takes his seat he becomes obsessed about the next election. The chances of distinction in one term or two terms are mighty small. Distinction goes with length of service; so likewise depends power. There is a strange fascination to most men about sitting in Congress and a strange and overmastering horror of being defeated for re-election. Along comes an institution like the National Association of Manufacturers, with unlimited means, with a close organization, with thousands of newspapers under its control, with the full backing of powerful commercial bodies, boards of trade, merchants' leagues, clergymen, reformers, platitudinists, flub-dub orators, social leaders, sap-head women, sputtering dodos like Lyman Abbott, goo-goos and all the rest that sway an incalculable influence in the district. It can enable this man to "get back," or it can defeat him and send somebody else, and men of flabby character (which is about the only kind that usually gets to Congress, anyway) will yield every time.

The next thing we know this National Association of Manufacturers is choosing the Speaker, making up the committees, selecting the judges, passing the laws that it wishes to have passed and killing those it wishes to have killed, and the whole government is as truly in its hands as if all the forms of popular institutions had been abolished and we had reverted to an absolute despotism. It is, in fact, no less. There never was an absolute monarch in history that was possessed of anything like the power enjoyed in this country by organized wealth. Again and again a few of us have made this assertion and been denounced as monstrous liars and traitors to the nation. Turn today to the documents presented by this man Mulhall and see who is the liar. The Socialists that have steadfastly warned the people that their rights were being undermined have in fact been the truest

patriots. They have merely told in advance what has been finally revealed and clinched. What nonsense to talk about a republic when every source of power lies in the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy, self-appointed and self-perpetuating, to which neither the Constitution nor all the laws that can be passed mean anything!

A grand company of foolish, prating, mouthing incompetents called optimists goes to and fro in this country uttering stale old stuff about the sacredness of the Constitution and the glory of our institutions, and there is no Constitution and no institutions. Read the Mulhall matter again, and carefully, and see if this is not true. A band of respectable pirates like the National Association of Manufacturers can rip your Constitution from end to end any moment. Can do, and has done it, again and again. In the name of law and order.

For the part of the population that has been slow to perceive basic facts this is the most valuable and significant revelation that has yet been made. After this no man can have the effrontery to stand forth and deny the truth about the real government of the United States that we have been patiently insisting upon all these years. Until these things have been set right and this abnormal power has been destroyed, no man ought to be bold enough to talk again about the supremacy of the people. The only thing that is supreme here is a few groups of rich men united to keep labor down that they may make additional millions and own ten automobiles instead of only six.

For that is all there was of inspiration to this despicable organization. It set out to defeat the labor movement and make war upon the unions that there should be no danger of a revolt on the part of labor, that labor should continue to serve for a small fraction of the wealth it created and allow its masters to take the rest, that wages should continue to be low and dividends be high, that every thought of better conditions and a more adequate return for labor should be stifled at the beginning and the graft of the masterly class continue to be goodly. "Keep labor in its place," was the motto of this institution. And the way it aimed to keep labor in subjection was to control



the government by the means Mulhall has so plainly shown.

I do not know how much more the working class of America needs to have shown it about its masters and despoilers. The money that the National Association of Manufacturers has spent to rivet its hold upon this government would have been a substantial addition to the wage fund. Every cent of it was money stolen from the class it was used to degrade and oppress; every cent of it was wealth that labor had created and of which it had been defrauded. For the corruption and perversion of their government the workers therefore paid, and their reward was to have still smaller consideration from their government and a more narrowly limited field of opportunity for their children.

There are other phases of this matter on which they might reflect with profit.

Mulhall distinctly states that among the public men controlled by the association was a class that was not purchased with money or any other valuable consideration. Certain men, he says, "the lobbyists of this association had no difficulty in reaching and influencing for business, political or sympathetic reasons." Every workingman should read and ponder upon the list of these men. It includes many of the most prominent enemies of labor and professional reactionaries in the country. Here are some of the men he names:

William H. Taft, the original injunction judge, the president that vetoed the Sundry Civil Bill because it exempted labor unions from the perverted and wrongful application of the Sherman act, the man that now lectures weekly at Yale University against the initiative, referendum and recall and opposes every measure that would put power into the hands of the people, the ingrained snob and aristocrat.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the man that fought the investigation of the Lawrence strike, the sneering patrician whose contempt for the working class has been shown on many occasions.

Senator Jacob Gallinger, who fought the eight-hour bill, who slipped into the *Congressional Record* a false statement of the wages paid at Lawrence, who opposes

every measure that can be of the slightest advantage to labor, whose objections have been raised almost daily on the side of privilege, who sits in the Senate watching like a hawk lest anything should be done to improve labor's condition.

Ex-Senator Foraker, the friend of the Standard Oil, who was driven out of public life by the publication of the Archbold letters.

Ex-Speaker Cannon, the Cave Dweller, the old-time and ranting opponent of progress, the ex-dictator of the House whose methods there aroused a tardy revolt that finally drove him out of power, the conspicuous hater of labor, who has covered it with his ridicule and expressions of hatred, who for forty years in public life has fought every suggestion of improvement.

The late Vice-President Sherman, the champion of the Beef Trust and the packers, the man that with his last breath decried the least change in our methods, the man that as Vice-President of the United States left his place to go to Chicago and try to save Bill Lorimer.

Ex-Senator Aldrich, the ex-boss of the Senate, the man whose name became a synonym for the worst influences in our political affairs, who sat in the Senate as the particular representative of the Standard Oil, who served the Interests for twenty years in public life.

Senator Isaac Stephenson of Wisconsin, who was investigated on a charge of getting his seat through the rankest bribery, who narrowly escaped expulsion on that ground, who was scored and denounced by a minority report of the committee that whitewashed him, who was revealed in an unenviable light by the testimony taken before that committee.

Senator Knute Nelson, the adroit friend of the Interests and covert enemy of labor.

Ex-Senator Scott, of West Virginia, defender of the Trusts.

Ex-Congressman Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, whose bitter antagonism to labor at last awoke a revolt and compelled his retirement, who was selected by President Roosevelt to draft anti-Trust legislation and was all the time in the service of the Interests.

Congressman Bartholdt of Missouri,



lately exposed as begging steamship companies for reduced fares on the ground that legislation in which they were interested was coming up.

Jim Tawney of Minnesota.

J. Adam Bede, the smooth tongued Republican orator, accustomed to make particular pleas to the workingmen.

Former Governor Herrick of Ohio, an adroit and plausible politician noted for his friendly talks to the working class.

And thirty-one other members of the House and Senate, every one of whom had been elected by the votes of the workers.

These in addition to the men named by Mulhall as the recipients of money, directly or indirectly paid.

A large part of these lists represents deliberate betrayal of the workers; a small part represents the men that, like Lodge, are natural aristocrats and despise labor on principle.

Such is the situation in your country today.

The first lesson for the working class to learn from it is that so long as it puts the least trust or confidence in any political party but its own it will have exactly these conditions.

So long as it votes parasites into office it will have grafters and traitors in power.

So long as it deludes itself into the belief that it can trust anybody outside of its own class it will be thus tricked, fooled and defeated.

So long as we have a government conducted by the minority of the country the exploiters will control that minority and the government.

So long as we have any kind of a government except working class government we shall have these consequences.

Year after year the workingmen of this country go to the polls like a flock of sheep and vote into office lawyers, bankers, merchants and tricksters. Year after year these steadily protect and serve their own class. Year after year the working class gets nothing from the government but lies and broken promises and sidetracked bills for labor's relief, and always the privilege of paying more and more for the necessities of life.

So long as they keep this up we shall have the inevitable results.

Some persons are crying out against the National Association of Manufacturers, as if we could change something if we could abolish that.

If the National Association of Manufacturers should cease to exist tomorrow another organization or power of the same kind would take its place, continue its tactics and not one condition revealed by Mulhall would undergo the slightest change.

Yet all the time the fact remains that this working class thus defrauded and derided, is the vast majority of the United States, that it has in its hands the power to put an end to the whole monstrous imposition, that it need not submit another day, that it and it alone can make this country fit to live in, both for itself and for all the rest of the inhabitants.

For the one remedy for all this and the one way out lies in working class government and working class solidarity.

Never was the essential unity of the employing class more clearly shown than in the Mulhall revelations. Never was the cold purposes of that class to keep the workers in subjection by any means, however lawless, more plainly indicated. It was that the workers might have always upon their necks the feet of the masters that all this riot of corruption and devilry was planned. It was to strike at the working class that all this enormous organization of evil was perfected. The working class was the thing to be subdued, the working class was the target of all the dirty schemes. War was declared on the working class. Never let any member of the working class imagine that for a hatred so deadly there can be any compromise or modification. The war will go on. One tool having proved worthless in the hands of the master class others will be substituted. But always there will be this malign and tremendous warfare made upon you to keep you in your place as the servitors and wealth creators for parasites and idlers.

What is your answer?



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MAY 26, 1913.

CONFIDENTIAL

## I. W. OF W. AT WORK IN ILLINOIS

TO MEMBERS

FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING FACTS UPON WHICH TO BASE A COURSE OF ACTION FOR THE ASSOCIATION THE DIRECTORS REQUEST THAT EACH MEMBER FURNISH THE SECRETARY ANY INFORMATION IT MAY HAVE CONCERNING THE EFFORTS OF EITHER THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD OR OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO WIDEN THEIR MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE AMONG EMPLOYES.

WORD HAS COME FROM WIDELY SPREAD SOURCES OF HIGHLY INCREASED ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND IT IS FELT THE ASSOCIATION SHOULD GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO THE SUBJECT IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE PREPARED FOR UNITED ACTION IF IT IS NECESSARY

HAVE YOUR WORKMEN BEEN CIRCULARIZED BY THE ORGANIZERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS?

HAVE YOU UNCONSCIOUSLY EMPLOYED ANY OF THE AGENTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD?

PLEASE GIVE US ALL THE INFORMATION YOU CAN ON THE SUBJECT; IT WILL BE TREATED AS ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL. ALSO GIVE US THE NAME OF THE PERSON IN YOUR PLANT WITH WHOM WE SHOULD COMMUNICATE ON THIS SUBJECT

JOHN M. GLENN,  
SECRETARY,





Photo by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

DRAWING OUT A STEEL BEAM 90 FEET LONG.

# The Call of the Steel Worker

By Louis C. Fraina

“I NEVER had a strike as long as I was in the steel business.”

Andrew Carnegie, Angel of Peace with the heart of steel, made that astounding statement to the Stanley Steel Investigating Committee. Expansively, benignantly, Andrew of the gentle soul and cultural urge gave his lying testimony—under oath. Homestead? Brad-docks?

The lie was too much for the committee. It was such a crass, palpable, stupid lie. Carnegie was compelled to retract and admit strikes. But having saved its neck, the committee wished to go no further, and decided that the bloody annals of Homestead were “really extraneous to the investigation.”

“Let’s not open up the old sores,” pleaded Congressman Gardner, Repub-

lican, who has since been revealed as a tool of the National Association of Manufacturers by Lobbyist Col. Mulhall.

"I agree with Mr. Gardner that it would be unkind to Mr. Carnegie," acquiesced Stanley, Democrat.

"Unkind"? Men slain in cold blood to insure profits; unionism crushed. Where at Homestead there was one plate mill in 1892 employing three crews of men working eight hours a day, now there are four mills, each with *two* crews, *working twelve hours a day*; work increased 50 per cent and wages only 20 per cent. "Unkind"? It is "unkind" to remind the perpetrator of this of his villainy; but it is not "unkind" for such degrading conditions to exist. Blessed be Capital in its Holiness!

This typical piece of Capitalist hypocrisy has since been put into the shade. As with machinery, Capitalist hypocrisy of yester-year is always being improved upon—progress in all things! Testifying for the defense in the suit to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation, former Ambassador Bacon said that "love of his fellow-men," of the workers (!?!), was the basic motive that led J. Pierpont Morgan to organize the steel trust. "His first great object," testified Mr. Bacon, "was by reason of the decrease in the cost of production to make it possible to improve the conditions of labor by increasing wages and bettering conditions." Amplifying this, the New York *Commercial*, June 18, 1913, said with vicious editorial effrontery:

"The new regime of iron and steel production has been singularly free from this bellicose attitude on the part of labor. It may be attributed in a large measure to the Morgan idea that to get the best results of heavily capitalized industry, it must be organized on a basis which permits a large and generous study of the interests of labor."

Amen!

And, of course, if we accept the statements in the "Amen!" spirit, and that is the purpose, the Press now playing the *role* of Church, they are gospel truth. But, being Infidels, we investigate:

Since the formation of the Steel Trust in 1902 profits have proven huge and inexhaustible.

Simultaneously, *total wages have been reduced*, and individual wages only *slightly increased*. *Comparing this slight increase with higher prices, actual wages have been heavily reduced.*

From 1902 to the quarter ended March 31, 1913, Steel Trust profits total \$1,397,383,092. With the exception of 1904 and 1908, yearly profits have always exceeded the hundred-million mark—166-odd millions in 1902, 160-odd millions in 1907, etc. The lowest profit was in 1904, being 73-odd millions. And these profits are even huger than the figures show, for by overcapitalization, financial jugglery and a misleading system of accounts, profits are systematically underestimated.

Obviously, the Steel Trust has been a bonanza to its owners. Heavily-capitalized industry pays. But this "prosperity" is a sort of mirage in the desert to the proletariat.

Examining the figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor report for the pig iron branch of the Steel Trust, we ascertain:

1. In Pennsylvania mills in 1902 the Trust employed 17,191 men, who produced 8,111,000 tons of pig iron.

2. In 1909, the workers had *decreased* numerically to 14,921; yet their output *increased* 2,610,024 tons—they produced 10,721,024 tons of pig iron. And the men were employed fewer days!

3. Total wages in 1902, \$10,191,579; in 1909, \$7,702,304—a *decrease in wages* of \$2,489,275.

4. The average daily wage in seven years increased *twenty cents*.

5. Output per man increased from 1.51 to 2.39 tons in the seven years. Labor-cost per ton decreased from \$1.25 to \$0.82 per ton.

The facts of pig iron apply to the steel industry as a whole, and to concentrated Capitalism.

Concentrated Capital, the form to which all Capital trends, means greater power of exploitation. Concentrated Capital means:

1. Availing itself of the most efficient existing machinery, and improving that machinery, Concentrated Capital extracts an increasingly larger volume of surplus value from the proletariat.

2. Simultaneously with greater output flowing from machinery, productivity of





GROUP OF SLAVIC STEEL WORKERS.

labor is increased by the *form* of work—large co-operative activity, “the collective power of masses.”

3. This increased productivity proceeds simultaneously with relatively *lesser* number of employes; hence increasing unemployment and competition, thereby preventing a general rise in wages.

4. While marshaling the workers into an industrial army, Concentrated Capital succeeds in destroying the potential proletarian power of this army by dividing the workers with a variety of schemes.

5. The workers only gradually awaken to a sense of the power which is theirs by being organized in the “labor army” of Concentrated Capital; but the awakening comes, sooner or later.

6. In the meantime, Concentrated Capital sweats out of the proletariat fabulous profits, while actually paying less wages, and, socially measured, making worse the condition of the proletariat.

The Bureau of Labor recently made public a special report of its investigation into the iron and steel industry as a whole. The investigation covers the period of May,

1910, embracing 212 blast furnaces and steel plants, employing 172,706 men.

Of the total 172,706 employes, 13,868, or 8.03 per cent, received less than 14 cents per hour; 20,527, or 11.89 per cent, received 14 and under 16 cents; and 51,417, or 29.77 per cent, received 16 and under 18 cents. Thus 85,812, or 49.69 per cent of all employes, received less than 18 cents per hour.

Those receiving 18 and under 25 cents per hour numbered 46,132, or 26.71 per cent; while 40,762, or 23.61 per cent, earned 25 cents and over. A few very highly skilled employes received \$1.25 per hour; and those receiving 50 cents and over per hour numbered 4,403, or 2.55 per cent of all employes.

Figuring on a 12-hour day, 131,944 employes, or 76.4 per cent of the total, received from \$1.68 to \$3.00 in daily wages, while half of the men received from \$1.68 to \$2.16.

On February 1, 1913, the Steel Trust made “a general increase in wages and salaries, averaging for employes receiving less than \$2 per day about 12½ per cent.” We do not know whether the in-



IN FRONT OF THE FURNACES.

crease has actually been made; we must take Chairman Gary's word for it. But if it has, the "increase" is a mere bagatelle compared with the gigantic rise in the cost of living and the yield of profits.

It must be observed that despite this "increase" in wages, which Gary claims is \$12,000,000, profits of the Steel Corporation for the first quarter of 1913 were higher from eight to twenty million dollars for eight years, and lower from five to two millions for three years. So huge is labor's yield of surplus value in trustified industry that profits are always large despite "increased operating expenses."

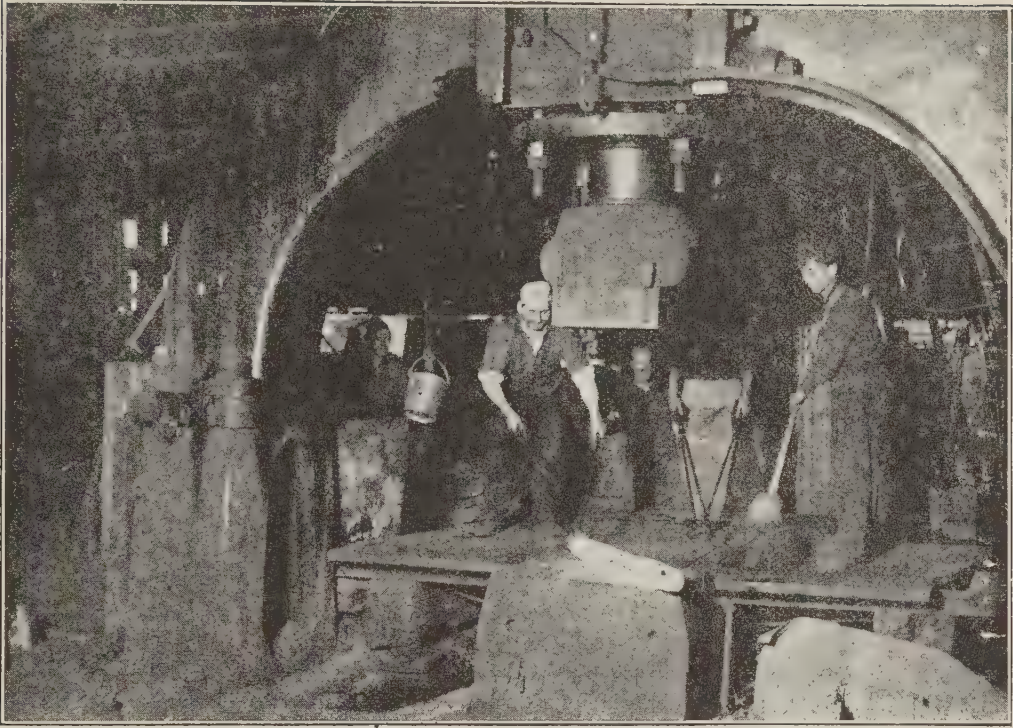
The picture drawn by steel mill wages is one of grinding, agonizing toil, of a machine existence—just enough oil in the form of wages to keep the human machine going. The \$1.68 to \$2.16 daily wage is even lower, considering that few steel workers are steadily employed. Social workers estimate that \$700 to \$800 is the minimum yearly income to sustain a proletarian family on *common necessities*. Most of these steel workers never

earn that. They must, therefore, live a materially sub-human existence.

Not only are wages low, but hours of work are extraordinarily high. Of the 172,706 steel workers investigated by the Bureau of Labor, 50,000, or 29 per cent, customarily toiled seven days per week, and 20 per cent sweated 84 hours or more per week, which means a 12-hour working day every blessed day in the week, including Sunday. Nearly 43 per cent of the men were found working 72 hours per week, or 12 hours per day for a 6-day week. Men often toil 20 to 30 hours at a stretch. A plan is being mooted to give the 7-day men one day off a week, but this would not affect the 72-hour a week men. Toil would continue frightful.

The hypocritical plea of the steel barons is that a "metallurgical necessity" exists for the 7-day week, for continuous operation. But this continuous operation could be secured without sweating the men seven days a week. The plea is a dastardly subterfuge. The investigators





HOLDING A WHITE HOT BILLET UNDER THE HAMMER.

developed the fact that the 7-day week was not confined to the blast furnace department, where there is a "metallurgical necessity" for continuous operation, and where 88 per cent of the men toil seven days a week; but it was found that, to a considerable extent, in other departments where no "metallurgical necessity" exists, work was carried on Sundays, for purely commercial, profit-mad reasons.

In an effort to silence public opposition the Steel Corporation made a bluff to remedy these horrible conditions. A committee of stockholders was appointed to investigate the 12-hour day, which said among other things:

"We are of the opinion that a 12-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for any considerable number of years, *means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and virility of such men.*" (My italics.)

The Finance Committee then appointed a sub-committee which reported against the change at the stockholders' meeting of April 21, 1913, on the ground that "un-

less competing iron and steel manufacturers will also enforce a less than 12-hour day, the effort to reduce the twelve hours per day at all our works will result in losing a large number of our employes, many of them preferring to take positions requiring more hours of work per day."

A mesh of hypocritical pretense. The matter of competition cuts no figure, for the "trust" has "gentlemen's agreements" with the "independents" not only concerning prices, but conditions of labor also. They are agreed to crush labor, but *do not wish* to agree to "improve" labor. Another subterfuge John A. Fitch exposes in the *Survey*:

"Of course, nothing is said in this report, nor was anything said at the stockholders' meeting, as to the real reason why workers leave their positions.

"The facts are that the cost of this reform was borne by the men. The Steel Corporation did not pay its men their old earnings for their new six-day stint."

Economic necessity, and not that "the



DRAGGING HOT BILLET.

men like to work twelve hours a day," as Judge Gary impudently claims, compels these men to toil inhumanly.

Nevertheless, an 8-hour day in the steel mills is only a matter of time. Capitalists are recognizing that non-sweated labor is the most efficient. This reform, says the *Boston Transcript*, "experts declare will increase, rather than diminish, dividends." And the Bureau of Labor argues that—

*From the experience of English blast-furnace owners who have adopted the eight-hour shift system, and from the experience in other industries, it will tend to produce a much more efficient force of workmen. There is no increase in "cost of production," and the quality of the product improves greatly.*

The proletariat must guard itself against Capitalists bearing gifts. With the proletariat industrially organized, the power of its organization would restrict production and decrease efficiency, preparatory to taking possession of all industry. An 8-hour day without a powerful

industrial union would mean more intense exploitation and more unemployment.

The steel barons have a purely Capitalist interest in their slaves, not at all human. Recently, steel superintendents in certain Pennsylvania steel towns appeared in court and argued against granting saloons licenses, *as saloons menaced their profits, drink sapping the workers' efficiency.* O Capital, thou shalt stand forever and aye as the brilliant flower on the stem of hypocrisy and bestial materialism!

Intoxication is a logical result of steady, grinding toil. And saloons flourish in steel towns. Toil in steel plants, especially in the blast furnaces, saps vitality and develops an overpowering desire for stimulants. And the men drink, drink, for in drink their sorrow vanishes and they have a momentary thrill of pleasure. And many, if not most, drink because of a blind, dumb, rooted resentment. They hate the boss, they hate work, they hate themselves, they hate



life. This resentment and hatred shall be harnessed to the mighty ends of the Revolution.

It was during the Passaic, N. J., textile strike. I was interviewing one of the strikers, a wisp of a Polish girl of sixteen. Toil in the industrial Bastille had not yet dried the red of her cheeks.

"My mother lives in Pittsburgh," she said. "I send her what I can. My father worked in the steel mill, worked hard and long. Then he began to drink, and became unkind. Oh, yes, he was good before that. One day his arm was cut off and he became worse. Then mother and I had to leave him."

"Do you ever see your father now?"

"Never. And we don't want to, either. But I saw him almost as little in the old days as I see him now, he worked so long."

The Steel Trust plumes itself on having had no strikes. "There have been no strikes or disturbances in the operation of the great steel company, and comparatively few in its more powerful rivals, which have patterned after its ideals and labor plans," says the *Commercial*. The reason thereof is plain. The Steel Trust terrorizes its employes and holds them in mental, physical and spiritual bondage—for the Church in the steel centers is owned body and soul by the exploiters. The men are forbidden to organize. They must present grievances individually; even a committee must not be formed. A comprehensive spy system is maintained; men are afraid to talk for fear of discharge. An investigator says: "I called one day at the home of a skilled steel worker, an employe of the United States Steel Corporation, and he sent his wife to the door to tell me that he couldn't talk with me because the company had 'given orders that the men shouldn't talk about mill work.' There was a wage cut at Homestead in 1908 that set the whole town talking around their firesides. But on the street the men would deny all knowledge of it."

The associative spirit is crushed. The workers dare not act collectively; the trust takes care that they don't; and individually they are helpless. Any move

to collectively improve conditions means discharge. In 1906 the workers of Jones & Laughlin, powerful "independents," planned a meeting of protest against Sunday work. The superintendent threatened with discharge whoever attended the meeting. *The meeting was not held.* This practice is universal in the iron and steel industry.

Then there is the "pension system." Pensions rivet employes to the employer. They are a chain-ball on the ankle of proletarian action.

The steel industry has applied the "efficiency system" with marked success. One phase of the "efficiency system" is the more intensive exploitation of the human unit in production; the other phase, more important to the Capitalist at the present stage of things, is holding the worker in subjection and discouraging union organization.

"Work, Wages and Profits" by H. L. Gantt, a book written for employers and published by *The Engineering Magazine*, New York, gives the snap away. Gantt advocates the "efficient utilization of labor"; this implies getting the worker to increase his output, and as one of the means of doing this the "task and bonus" system is offered. The work is divided into "tasks" and apportioned among the workers. The man who completes his task within the time set by the superintendent (time being decided by the most skilled worker) receives a "bonus." Instituted in the plants of the Bethlehem Steel Company, the assistant superintendent after two months' trial wrote that the method had "*eliminated the constant necessity for driving the men.*" Gantt says that "the average monthly output of the shop from March 1, 1900, to March 1, 1901, was 1,173,000 pounds, and from March 1, 1901, to August 1, 1901 (after the 'bonus' system was inaugurated), it was 2,069,000 pounds." *The shop employed 700 men and paid on the "bonus" plan only 80 workers out of the entire 700.*

The "task and bonus" scheme decreases "cost of production" and increases the workers' yield of surplus value at small additional expense to the employer, as only a few receive the "bonus." It eliminates the "necessity for driving" as the worker, lured on by the

"bonus" will-o-wisp, becomes his own slave-driver.

"So far this system has never failed to create a strong spirit of harmony and co-operation" between employers and employes; it shatters union efforts, as the employer uses the scheme to separate the "bonus" receivers from the unsuccessful ones, creating a sort of "bonus aristocracy." Gantt opposes labor unions and employers' associations as they can never "effect a permanent solution of the problem of the proper relations between employers and employes"; his "task and bonus" system does bring about "proper relations," as it *discourages labor unions by inciting workers to strive individually, instead of collectively, to increase their wages*. What Marx, in "Capital," said of wages, applies to the "efficiency" movement—"The rise of wages, therefore, is confined within limits that not only leave intact the foundations of the capitalistic system, but also secure its reproduction on a progressive scale."

But Capitalist chicane cannot stifle the revolutionary spirit. The very effort to stifle creates the revolutionary spirit. There is a revolutionary group, a small group, but that matters not, among the steel workers. And they are biding their time. Revolt is near. It is bound to come. It is here. John A. Fitch recites a typical episode:

"It was a family of intelligence and breeding, and evidently of strong religious principles. The father had been telling me about the experience in a long life as a workman. The son had sat silently acquiescent in his father's analysis of existing conditions, but following the conversation with attention. Finally, ad-

ressing both, I asked what, in their judgment, would be the outcome of the unrest and discontent? There was silence for a moment and then the father shook his head sadly and said: 'There is no way out. There will be no change.' But the son cried out through set teeth: 'Yes, there is a way out, and it is through an armed revolution.'"

Steel conditions are universal, the steel industry being typical of trustified Capitalism. Trust-Capitalism creates a new proletariat, the proletariat of machine-tenders, of common, unskilled labor. Says the Bureau of Labor report: "Large as is the proportion that unskilled labor forms of the total labor force in the iron and steel industry, steel experts have noted the fact that the tendency of recent years has been steadily toward the reduction of the number of highly skilled men employed and the *establishment of the general wage on the basis of common or unskilled labor*." (My italics.) Wages paid common labor in the steel industry are the wages of common labor everywhere. There is an identity in exploitation. This develops fraternal spirit, and, coupled with its strategic industrial position, makes common labor THE revolutionary force.

Our agitation, our organization efforts must recognize this fact: *Common labor dominates industry*. And when common labor in steel revolts, when this basic industry feels the clutch of the Revolution, Capitalism will be shaken to its depths. Not McKees Rocks, not Lawrence, not the British miners' and dock workers' strike will be comparable. The revolt of the steel workers will sound the call for the Social Revolution.





# THE WEST VIRGINIA SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION

By Sigurd Russell

ONE of the greatest dramas of the labor movement unfolded itself in Charleston, West Virginia, when a committee of the United States Senate sat investigating labor conditions and the strike of Paint and Cabin Creeks. Their sessions were held daily from 9 a. m. to 11 p. m., for a whole week and had all the appearances of a court trial. Labor and Capital were on the stand.

One million four hundred and fifty thousand words of testimony were recorded. The tears of women, the shrieks of babies, the thunderings of corporation lawyers, the laughter and applause of the crowd, broke in upon the majestic silence of the court. It was a big farce and a great tragedy. Millions of dollars were at stake on the one hand, and the lives of human beings on the other.

The Socialists of West Virginia were found not guilty of having libeled the coal barons and military despots. Their charges had not been exaggerated. It was granted by the Senators that the hideous story of greed, madness and crime had been well pictured, as a blot on civilization, and American pride. But it was also admitted that all the powers of the land were powerless to undo or to change the past or the present, and even to dictate the future. The only value of that expensive investigation was publicity.

The great story was told by men, women and children, mostly American—miners and railroad men.

Lawyers for the miners and for the coal operators; millionaires and paupers; scabs, yellow legs, policemen and Baldwin Guards, Senators and Governors; the mighty and the weak, all had to testify.

As soon as a member of the working class had testified in favor of the strikers, the corporation lawyers would with third degree and cross questionings, make a mighty effort to destroy the effect of his testimony. And when a witness took the stand for the coal barons, the attorneys for the miners would do the same. It was on both sides a struggle to undo the other fellow. All the senators with the exception of Shields of Tennessee asked questions from every witness in order to get more facts and understanding and to test the veracity of his words.

The investigation had every appearance of a court trial. And this illusion was helped when those concerned called the chair "Your Honor"; the witness "the prisoner," the hall the "Court Room."

The atmosphere was surcharged with intense feelings. Those present kept their hearts on the pulse of the story as it unfolded itself and all the efforts of the Marshal-at-Arms of the Senate were futile in checking their explosions. It was evident that the crowd was on the side of the miners. Scattered in the room were railroad detectives, and the secret service men of Felts and Burns.

Felts, the head of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency, which has suc-



SIGURD RUSSELL.

ceeded by bloody methods in terrifying Colorado, West Virginia, Kentucky, and the South, was present during the whole trial, sitting ten feet from the Senators. He was covered with jewelry and flashing diamonds, and every time he leaned over to talk to a corporation lawyer, or to a Senator, regarding some witness, two guns could be seen in his hip pockets. When on the stand himself he said that his services had cost over a thousand dollars a day for months. And that his work was to break the backbone of labor unions, by having his men on the inside, and also attacking them on the outside. He was gentlemanly, defiant, cynical, haughty, and insulting. Once I heard him whisper to another man, "Damn it, I don't know anything about that witness."

The most interesting point of the investigation was the fact that the parties concerned admitted most of the charges against them. Governor Glasscock said that the intensity of the situation had made him act rashly. The members of the Military Commission plainly said that at their arbitrary tribunal they had ignored the constitutions and the civil laws of the land. The coal operators even told how much they had spent for thuggery, claiming that it was necessary to defend their property and their business. President Cornell stated that his company had spent \$18,000 for guns and ammunition, and \$8,000 to bring in 1,100 scabs.

Quin Morton, one of the millionaire coal barons, who leases his mines from Pratt of the Standard Oil, stated that he had ordered the "Bull Moose Armored Death Special," and that that night he himself had fired into the camps of the strikers with a 30x30 Winchester, at the same time as the two Gatling guns were exploding. They were firing 250 shots a minute each. The strikers on their side, also told of having armed themselves and using their weapons to protect their rights, their lives and families against the blood-thirsty guards of the mine owners.

John Seechrist was the hero of the whole show. A lad of twenty, born and raised on Paint Creek, at the mouth of a mine; regarded until the strike as a coward, he was six feet tall, with long curly hair. Slow and timid, he created a stir when he admitted under the cross-fire of questions of the corporationists, to having killed a number of

guards and having been in fights in defense of his hills, his brother workers, his life, and his rights, and that he was ready to do it again whenever necessary.

All this he said with the voice of a child, and the timidity of a young girl. And the question was raised as to whether or not the Senatorial Committee would grant him immunity. It was decided by the Senator whose sympathy and understanding he had won, that this would be granted. So he went on implicating himself to the delight of the corporation lawyers.

Then they asked him how and where he had purchased his guns and ammunition, but he did not give a satisfactory answer, and everybody wondered at the change. It was soon understood, however, when he was asked whether Parsons, a prominent leader of the strikers, was with him at a certain place or not. Then what John had foreseen happened, and his lawyers inquired from the chairman as to whether the boy was forced to answer and implicate others. To which it was answered that he was not. The question was repeated and other questions were added, but he remained silent. Finally, when Lawyer Knight for the coal barons, asked him if he desired to answer, he turned around and faced the capitalist class with a well rounded "No." And the lawyer dismissed him saying, "You can take away the prisoner." No one was implicated through the testimony of Seechrist. He did more than any other one witness to show the investigators that a state of actual warfare existed in West Virginia.

A large number of miners had been in bull pens and jails for months and then had been released without knowing what sentences the military fancy had chosen for them. They didn't know whether they had been found guilty or not guilty. All that they knew was that they were locked up for a time, and then all of a sudden let loose. Now it is quite evident that as soon as the capitalist bull dogs of West Virginia believe that they have crushed the miners' revolt, they will strike another blow of vengeance and turn many of the miners over to the civil courts. It was plainly shown that they tried to get as much evidence as possible during the investigation.

Senator Martini, of New Jersey, was the most earnest of the Senators. It seemed at first that this old farmer and friend of President Wilson could not imagine that in



this free and civilized America it was possible that worse methods of slavery and suppression were used than in Russia.

He had been given that part of Resolution 37, which dealt with interfering with the post office, but he jumped out of these boundaries of his assignment, and plunged with more vigor and rage than the other Senators into all the phases of the investigation. As the evidence of the miners was not organized, many a point would not have been made clear, had it not been for the dare-devil questions of the gentleman from New Jersey.

He told the coal barons that they had murdered for greed; that they had forgotten the golden rule; that human lives were above money on the market of decency. He scolded, cursed and preached.

Senator Swanson, chairman of the committee, an ex-governor of the state of Virginia, where mining conditions and the guard system are as bad as in West Virginia, has always been a true politician, and his humanitarian feelings are afloat only as long as they don't have to digest the dollar bill. The way he put it to me was, "You see I understand those miners. I come from a county of moonshiners. I lived with them. I knew their spirit. I held their secrets. I tried to save the Allen brothers from the electric chair. I will explain to the Senate why the boys of Paint and Cabin Creek as true mountaineers, used 30-30 Winchesters and Mausers." But he

did not speak of the coal operators. Senator Shields, the surly gentleman from Tennessee, was called "the Minority Report," as from the start he showed that he was lined up with the coal trust.

Senator Kenyon, formerly a lawyer from Iowa, worked the hardest of them all. He tried to find out the truth. He constantly fired questions and was well informed on mining conditions. He made a good investigator.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, the man with the "silver tongue" and the sweet smile, was the Sphinx of the whole show. On which side he stood, no one knew. But he left for Washington the third day of the investigation, saying that he had all the proofs he needed on his subject, which was: Martial Law, and the arrest and detention of Socialists and union men.

Whatever may be the report of these capitalist employes, it must be said that they worked hard, and left no stone unturned to find out the truth from all parties concerned. And that is more than our own Socialist Investigating Committee did for its class. Such is the universal opinion of the Socialists and miners of West Virginia.

The Senatorial Report is only to be regarded from a point of view of publicity. And when we can show to all the people of this country and the world the conditions of slavery under which the miners live, then and then only, will they wake up and put this cursed system out of business!

## Strike "Settlements" in West Virginia

By W. H. Thompson

IN an article in the July REVIEW I detailed at some length the manner in which the odious Hatfield-Haggerty "settlement" of the Kanawha strike was "put over" on the workers by the coercion of Hatfield and the trickery of the United Mine Workers' officials. I have received numerous letters from persons prominent in the Socialist party and in the mine workers organization severely criticizing my statements and intimating in very forceful language that I knew not of what I wrote. In justice to these writers I will say that in every instance they were citizens of other states, and, with few exceptions, have never been in West Virginia.

As proof of the accuracy of my statements made in that article I wish to chronicle the happenings in the affected zone since it was written.

The coal miners of Paint Creek and Cabin Creek have unanimously repudiated the agreement entered into for them by Hatfield-Haggerty & Co., and are again on strike. Furthermore, they have compelled Haggerty and the other compromising officials of the U. M. W. of A. to retreat from their former position as absolute dictators, and to grant to their strike a tardy official recognition.

These leaders were placed in a rather peculiar position in thus being compelled

to endorse a strike against the agreement they themselves had forced upon the miners, and to "save their face" they loudly proclaimed that the coal barons had violated the provisions of the holy Hatfield Proposition and thus justified the strike.

This brought forth a hot reply from the coal operators' association, which proved another assertion of mine, to the effect that there was nothing in the Hatfield proposition demanding any changes in their attitude toward the miners. They said in part:

"There was never any promise or agreement on our part to take back strikers or to surrender our rights of hiring or discharging men as we saw fit. We entered into *no* agreement with the United Mine Workers. We promised the Governor that we would do certain things toward ending the violence on Paint and Cabin Creeks. We have kept this promise in the strictest good faith and there is no foundation for any statement to the contrary."

In regard to this Dean Haggerty made a public statement in which he said:

"Owing to my absence from the city on important business I have as yet been unable to prepare a detailed reply to the statement of the operators' association. But I shall do so shortly and show that the Governor's proposition has been grossly violated."

The Dean made this promise of a "detailed statement" on June 22, but as yet he has failed to make the statement or show wherein the operators had grossly violated the Hatfield proposition. No one knows better than Haggerty that there was nothing in the proposition that the operators would have any call to violate.

In the meantime the strike in the Paint and Cabin Creek district grows in intensity, and conditions are rapidly approaching the guerilla warfare stage. The criminal mine guards are again in evidence and are using the same old tactics to stir up violence. Already one battle has taken place. This called forth from Governor Hatfield a long open letter to Sheriff Bonner Hill, he, of "armored train" fame, in which he declared that if the civil authorities could not preserve peace in the strike zone they should resign. He also intimated that he might summarily remove such officials as were lax in their duties. When it is remembered that Hatfield tried

to "preserve peace" up there with the entire state army and failed, and that he has not as yet resigned his office, his advice appears a little premature, to say the least.

### The New River "Settlement."

It would seem to the casual observer that Haggerty & Co. would have learned a few things from their failure to "put over" the now infamous Kanawha Settlement, but, alas, they belong to that specie of old line craft union leaders who never learn and never change. At the very time the Kanawha miners were repudiating the agreement entered into for them by these gentlemen, Haggerty, Hatfield and the New River operators were concocting another settlement prescription to be used upon the restless and dissatisfied New River miners.

This proposition, which was agreed upon by the gentlemen who drew it up, was meant for no other purpose than to chloroform the growing spirit of unrest among the miners in this field and to keep them producing coal to fill the contracts of the Kanawha operators whose mines are closed by the strike there.

The New River agreement is a replica of the infamous Hatfield proposition to settle the Kanawha strike. The workers realize absolutely nothing from its acceptance. And to effectually prevent the miners from *ever* gaining any concessions under it the following clause is appended:

"Sixth—All matters of dispute, with reference to the above proposition, as between the individual operator and miners in each mine in the New River and Virginia districts, to be referred to a commission of four, two of whom are to be selected by the operators and two by the miners neither of whom are to be interested in mines or mining, either directly or indirectly, and that where a controversy arises, both operator and miner may appear before the said board, and the board, after hearing the evidence from both sides, shall render a decision, and any decision signed by any three of said board shall be final and binding on both operators and miners. Should said board be unable to reach a majority decision, then they shall take the matter to the *governor of the state*, who shall act as umpire and whose decision shall be final and binding on both operators and miners, and there shall be no appeal therefrom."



See any chance for the real interested parties, the coal miners, having any say in matters of dispute?

Bear in mind, please, that this agreement, contract, settlement or whatever it is, was never submitted to the miners for their acceptance or rejection. It was accepted for them by the wise Christian leaders whom God and the United Mine Workers of America sent here to act for them. And their interests are further protected by *Umpire Hatfield* from whose decision no appeal can be taken.

Regardless of the U. M. W. of A. officials the Kanawha miners appealed from a Hatfield decision, and we may confidently expect that the New River miners will follow suit. The militant spirit of revolution is abroad among these delvers in the earth, and the day of the "leaders" who spend all their time in "conferences" with the enemies of the men they are supposed to represent is fast drawing to a close.

#### Why Hatfield Was Shielded

When the committee appointed by the United States Senate to investigate the new and weird form of government which has been established in West Virginia began its hearings in Charleston it departed from the usual procedure employed by investigating committees inasmuch as it ruled that only such witnesses as were placed upon the stand by the attorneys for the operators and the attorneys for the United Mine Workers should be heard.

The result of this action was that a loophole was left through which the U. M. W. of A. lost no time in pushing their "friend" Hatfield, and no evidence pertaining to the long line of military outrages committed upon the Socialists since March 4, was gotten into the record.

The investigation into the acts of the Glasscock administration was thorough and a state of affairs was revealed that shocked the sensibilities of even the capitalist politicians from the United States who conducted the inquiry. Glasscock is a down and out and disgraced tool of the coal barons, incapable of further serving his masters or of seeking revenge upon his enemies, therefore none attempted to shield him; instead he was made the scapegoat in an effort to shield more powerful men.

Governor Hatfield was inaugurated on March 4. On March 7, Mother Jones, C.

H. Boswell, John Brown and 46 Socialist miners were placed on trial before Hatfield's military drumhead court. A writ of prohibition forbidding these trials was issued by the civil courts of Kanawha county, but the drumhead continued its work in defiance of the civil power and its bull-pen victims were tried and in many instances sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary.

In April Hatfield issued his infamous 36-hour ultimatum in which the striking Socialist miners were compelled to return to work or be imprisoned or deported. A few days after this he suppressed the Charleston Labor Argus and jailed its staff of three men.

On May 9 Hatfield and his soldiers suppressed the Huntington Socialist and Labor Star, 80 miles outside the martial law zone, confiscated and destroyed its plant and sent the five publishers to join those of The Argus in the Charleston jail.

The charge has been openly and repeatedly made that Hatfield's activities against the Socialists had been instigated by the Jesuits who are in control of the U. M. W. of A. These, it is charged, had complained to the military governor that they could never "settle the strike" while the Socialists were at large.

This charge is partly borne out in the report of the Socialist investigating committee when it says: "The governor said that he was as much opposed to martial law as anyone could be. He had permitted it to remain effective at the request of the union miners." This statement of the governor was subsequently verified by all the officials and organizers of the U. M. W. of A."

Is it any wonder that these *officials* and *organizers* of the U. M. W. of A. used the influence of their attorneys to prevent an investigation of the outrages committed under a military dictatorship which they acknowledge being responsible for "remaining effective?"

However, this matter has been taken up with the Senatorial investigators by the Socialists themselves and they have a tentative promise from the committee that they will yet get a hearing. It is intimated that the committee will call the recipients of the Hatfield outrages to testify after the "shysters" have concluded their presentation of testimony against Glasscock.



STRIKE MEETING IN THE GREEK CHURCH YARD.

# The Ipswich Strike

By J. S. Biscay

IPSWICH, Mass., a town of 6,000 people, is one of the first settlements in New England and is noted for its notorious Ipswich Mill, where men, women and children worked for from \$2.00 to \$6.00 a week, often being cheated of even these scant earnings. One of the stockholders of this mill is Supreme Judge Caleb Loring and another is Bishop Lawrence. Both are highly respectable and patriotic gentlemen.

Until last fall this mill had a profitable habit of confiscating the wages of any worker that quit without giving two weeks' notice. The 54-hour law was also meaningless to the millowners, who worked their slaves as long as they pleased.

But along came an I. W. W. organizer in the shape of C. L. Pingree, who at once made such an awful noise about

robbing the workers and defying the 54-hour law that the millowners were forced to post notices asking all who had quit work in past years to call for their confiscated wages. In a few months the Ipswich Mill paid back more than \$60,000 of loot to the workers. The 54-hour law was suddenly discovered and enforced. This happened in 1912, and of course the fossilized citizens began to hate the vulgar I. W. W. for thus disturbing the historical reverie of the mortuary town. The slaves were so pleased that many joined the I. W. W.

On April 22 the workers of the Ipswich Mill walked out, demanding an increase in wages. The great majority of these were called "ignorant foreigners" and their numbers were so large in the mill that they closed down the hosiery plant. For about a month the mill lay idle. In



the meantime the sleepy citizens worked themselves into the proper spirit of indignant patriotism and persuaded the English-speaking workers to return amid much rejoicing. Out of 1,500 strikers a couple hundred began to scab. The Greeks and Poles stood solid.

Scabbing proved so distasteful on a few dollars a week that even the hide-bound natives began to quit in bunches. Extra sluggers were brought in from Lawrence, Salem, Beverly and other places to terrorize the strikers. Soon the town funds shrunk into a deficit and some excuse was needed to appropriate more police money. The taxpayers were grumbling at the unnecessary expense. A special meeting of town officials was called for the evening of June 10 to devise means of raising money.

On this evening the strikers paraded before the mill as usual. The scabs began to make some disturbance, elbowing and pushing strikers about the street. Instead of keeping order the police began to arrest some of the strikers. A group of workers gathered about a 16-year-old girl that was being dragged about the street by three specials. None of the strikers lifted a hand. Suddenly, as if on an agreed signal, the police and specials charged the strikers with drawn clubs and revolvers. They began to club and shoot the workers, who had no chance to get away. Other police were stationed down the street and hemmed in the victims, leaving no opportunity of escape. Some climbed the fence, while others escaped through the yards. *One woman was instantly killed with a bullet in the head while standing in her own yard.* Ten more went to the hospital to recover from club and bullet wounds. Most of these were women and girls. None of the police was hurt, as the strikers had no chance of self-defense.

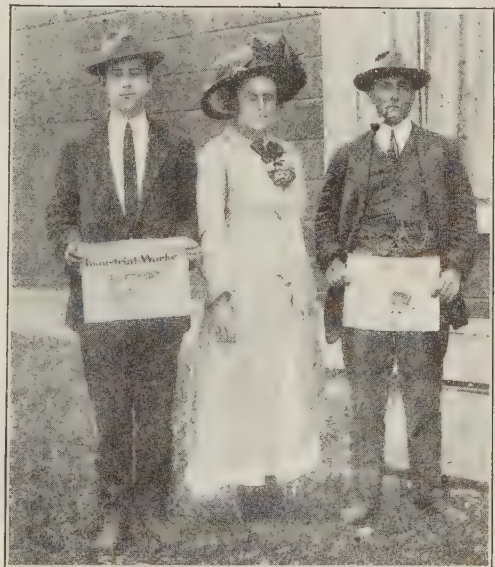
*That evening the town appropriated \$12,000 for the police.*

Following this brutal attack nineteen strikers were thrown into jail charged with "riot," while Organizers Nathan Herman, C. L. Pingree and wife were charged with murder and riot. Parades were forcibly stopped, meetings in the hall broken up and an ordinance against free speech and public assemblage was passed.

In desperation the strikers took refuge in the Greek churchyard, where for a time their meetings were not molested by the authorities. Recently even these meetings have been suppressed under the by-law that was made as an excuse for this very occasion.

During the hearing of the "riot" charges only witnesses were allowed in the court room. Citizens were not barred even from inside the railing. Radical reporters were denied admission. I was barred from the court until I produced credentials as a newspaper reporter. My press dispatches were held up until I made a deposit and got authority. Editor Edwards of the *Leader*, a Boston Socialist weekly, was thrown out of the town hall where the court holds session. I was threatened with violence by one of the specials at the court room door for writing and sending out news from Ipswich. In the meantime the foundry of "justice" was operating against the strikers.

During the hearing, Judge Sayward referred to the I. W. W. in the most violent language. He called the strikers "dupes," "fools," and other choice names becoming a man of the mill-owned bench. He stated that Herman and Pingree were responsible for the murder, even if an officer fired the fatal bullet. This was before there was even a hearing of the murder charge and before the inquest.



N. HERMAN. MRS. PINGREE C. G. PINGREE.

Two days later and after the inquest, which was never made public, Prosecuting Attorney Attwill of Salem fame advised the mummified judge that in his opinion there was nothing to warrant holding the organizers on the murder charge, as an officer fired the bullet. The judge then turned a complete "flip-flop" and stated that for some days he had been of the same opinion. Then murder charges were thereupon squashed. Thirteen, including Herman and Pingree, were bound over to the grand jury charged with riot.

Following this came the arrests of outside speakers for daring to address the strikers at the Greek church. L. J. Grikstas of Brighton, A. K. McMillain of Beverly, Gustav Andeberg of Lynn and John Murphy of Lawrence—all Socialist speakers—were arrested as violent persons and quickly sentenced to three months for addressing the strikers. Their cases have been appealed and will come up again in September. During the trials of these speakers the "court" ruled that the presence of any speaker at the Greek church was enough for him.

The "citizens" began to hold meetings

to lay plans for a "vigilante" squad to run the organizers and speakers out of town. A half-witted detective found a "bomb" which proved to be some cast-off overalls rolled in a bundle. This only caused a laugh about town. A "flag day" for July 4th was at once decided upon as the usual mode of procedure against the awful I. W. W. Then an effort was made to break the solid ranks of the strikers by persuading them to take part in this demonstration. The strikers refused to "demonstrate" with thugs and scabs, and the demonstration proved a costly fizzle.

Despite all these odds the strikers are standing firm, with the intention of winning or leaving the town. For the first ten weeks of the strike there was no outside aid. Some collectors have been sent out and appeals for funds are being circulated. A defense league has been organized locally from among the strikers and branch leagues are being formed in other places. Funds are badly needed. As there have been threats of stopping strike relief, the strike committee urges that all funds be sent to the Ipswich Defense League, Box 282, Ipswich, Mass.

## JAPANESE WRESTLING AND THE JIU-JITSU

By S. Katayama

**O**RIGINALLY the famous Japanese jiu-jitsu was an art practiced solely by the nobility, who, possessing the right, denied to commoners, of carrying swords, were thus enabled to show their superiority over common people even when without weapons.

It was a secret art, jealously guarded from those not privileged to use it, until the feudal system was abandoned in Japan, but now jiu-jitsu is taught in the schools, as well as in public and private gymnasiums. In the army, navy and police, it receives particular attention.

Jiu-jitsu may be briefly defined as "an application of anatomical knowledge to the purpose of offense and defense." It differs from wrestling in that it does not depend upon muscular strength. It needs no weapon. Its object is not to kill but to

incapacitate one from action for the time being.

Its feat consists in clutching or striking such part of an enemy's body as will make him numb and incapable of resistance.

Several of these sensitive places, for instance the partially exposed nerve in the elbow, popularly known as the "funny-bone" and the complex of nerves over the stomach called the "solar plexus," are familiar to the American, but the jiu-jitsu expert is acquainted with many others which, when compressed, stuck, or pinched cause temporary paralysis of a more or less complete nature. Such places are the armpit, the ankle and wrist bones, the tendon running downward from the ear, the "Adam's apple" and the nerves of the upper arm. In serious fighting almost any hold or attack is resorted to and a broken



or a badly sprained limb is the least that can befall a victim.

Many writers translate jiu-jitsu "to conquer by yielding" and this phrase is a salient characteristic of the art, since the weight and strength of the opponent are employed to his own undoing.

When, for example, a big man rushes at a smaller opponent, the smaller man, instead of seeking to oppose strength to strength, falls backwards or sidewise, pulling his heavy adversary after him and taking advantage of his loss of balance to gain some lock or hold known to the science.

In the feudal days the theater was a communistic affair in Japan. Every large town and village had its own theater and the people made for it roofs of straw and bamboo mats. The young men worked hard to prepare for the great events about to take place and made them a success. The people themselves were often actors, audience and producers. The object in these productions was pleasure for the community in which profits had no share. But now all this has been grabbed up by the profit-takers and the only share the people have in the theater is to pay for getting in.

Wrestling has been the boast of Japan for twenty centuries. It had almost become an established art at the time it began to decay through the substitution of the dollar, for sporting honor, as its goal. Formerly the hair's breadth of a point was contested and a decision rendered with fine honor and acumen.

Wrestling was indulged in for the amusement of the people and by the people. Now it has become a profit-making machine in which the wrestlers are mere vendors of the art of wrestling at so much per week or month.

There is now an association that controls the entire group of wrestlers. Its members are made up of from a limited number of the older wrestlers with money to invest.

Sometime ago the younger group of unknown wrestlers, who were dissatisfied with the meagre wages paid by the money grabbing association, went on strike and refused to work for such terms. In fact they rented a hall for their own use and decided they would try to get along without the association and the inner ring of better known wrestlers with ring records.

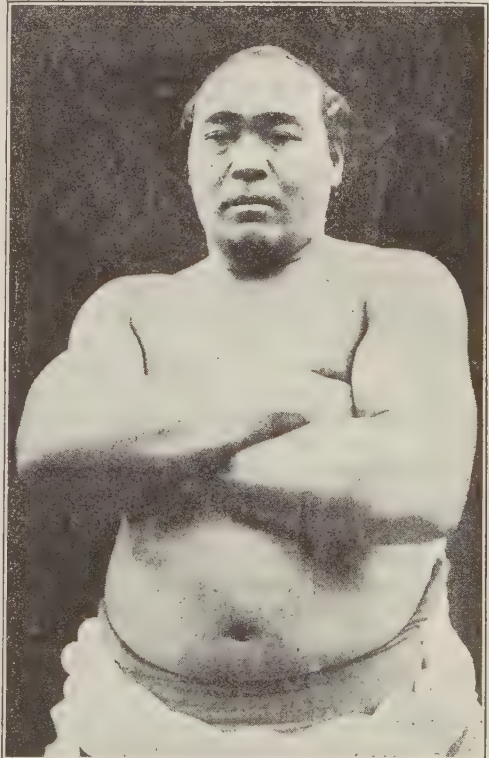
The association and the champions got

together and talked things over. It was astounding! It was unheard of! It was unbelievable that these unknown young upstarts should rebel and want some of the earnings! But it was true! The Big Bugs discovered they could not open the amphitheatre without the despised youngsters and so they gave in.

#### JAPANESE WRESTLING.

There is no "starter" for the Jap wrestlers. The umpire merely raises his fan and the fun begins. The first man to touch his hand or any portion of his body to the ground is defeated. In order to win he must push his opponent outside the circle or throw him down.

Wrestling is the National Game in Japan. Daily reports down to the minutest details are published in every newspaper and the results of the day's game are as eagerly looked for as the sporting extra in the U. S. bearing the score of the afternoon baseball game. Wrestling gave birth to the "extra" in Japan. In spite of all the subsidizing of the ring, wrestling is still to the Japanese people what the bull fight is to Mexico and to Spain.



A JAPANESE WRESTLER.



Photo by International Harvester Co.

THE MOST MODERN METHOD OF HARVESTING.

# The Agricultural Industry

By Robert Johnstone Wheeler

**M**R. CLYDE J. WRIGHT, writing in the *New York Call*, tells of the new renting system now developing in Oklahoma and Texas. In the Texas instance, Mr. Wright tells of the farm of Mr. Preston Smith, where 35,000 acres are plotted out in farms of from 50 to 100 acres. Tenants are obliged to sign an agreement to follow out the directions of the agricultural experts who are employed by the owner. The tenant is furnished with the best of seed, tools and supplies. Experts advise him constantly. Power machinery does the plowing, reaping and threshing. An expert salesman markets the crops. All this service is charged up to the tenant, who finally gets the net proceeds as agreed upon in the contract. The advantage to the capitalist in this system is obvious. The tenants' advantage is not so clear. Unless he can make a favorable contract, his position cannot be much better than that of the city industrial worker.

The fact that a Renters' Union, numbering over 40,000 members exists in Texas indicates that the renter is pretty thoroughly

exploited and now begins to rebel like his brother, the industrial proletarian.

The "Farm Corporation" has passed beyond the mere experimental stage. Such corporations are organized exactly like an industrial corporation, with similar officers. "Seven years ago," says the *Saturday Evening Post*, "a young lawyer in a western state conceived the idea of organizing a farm corporation. Today he is at the head of a string of such corporations." The *Post* writer in conversation with the organizer, asked:

"What about the net results of your system of corporation farming?" was then asked. "Have you made it pay, and if so, are you willing to say how well it has paid?"

"Yes," was the answer, "it has paid well. This does not mean that every ranch pays a dividend every year; but it does mean that after we have once got a ranch going we have never operated without earning a profit. For instance, one of our ranches this year paid a cash dividend of ten per cent. That is the first one on the list. Next comes a company that passed its dividend for the reason that a railroad locomotive set fire to our grass and we were obliged to go out and buy hay for the stock. Of course we shall ultimately recover the loss from the





OIL TRACTOR OPERATING FIVE BINDERS.

railroad company, but the accident compelled us to pass a dividend for the time being.

"I can see no reason," concluded this captain of husbandry, "why corporation ownership and management should not be successful in other lines of farming."

Co-operative farm operation is probably developing more among the owners of farms of from 175 to 499 acres. Such farms, averaging 291 acres, representing about \$15,000 capital, affords the owners means to buy the best machinery. Mr. Rex. Beresford, writing in the *Country Gentleman*, tells of this system at work.

One of the most successful coöperative companies of this sort is the one situated south of Spencer, Iowa. This is composed of fifteen farmers and was organized three years ago. The original shares were \$50 each. They bought a new outfit complete. The first year the machine made twenty per cent on the investment; the second year almost fifty per cent. Last year on account of an almost total small-grain failure in the neighborhood the company had little business. The first two years, however, paid back all but \$18 of the original \$50 invested. This year bids fair to clear the outfit. It is still good for many years' work. Every year at the close of the threshing run the members and their families have a banquet. It is one of the biggest social events of the neighborhood. What was originally only a threshing ring bids fair to become a social and literary organization as well.

In the case of a coöperative company the fall plowing begins as soon as the grain is threshed. The tractor easily does all this for the whole

company, leaving the men and teams to haul manure and attend to other work. Moreover the tractor plows deep and does a good job. It plows all the land that is ready to plow as soon as the crops are off, burying weeds and stubble and conserving moisture. When silage cutting is over a number of companies use their tractors to plow the corn-stubble land. By using the tractor in the fall to get all the plowing possible done at that time, not only are all the advantages of better pulverization of the soil and a greater storage of moisture gained, but the saving of time in the spring is great.

During the corn-plowing and haying season the tractors of at least two companies are kept busy on the roads, grading them, hauling road materials or sand or other building materials for their owners. When fall plowing is over, or between jobs, if necessary, the tractor is used to run the clover-huller or the corn-sheller. In winter it saws the wood, bales the hay, or does any other belt work necessary for its coöperating owners. With such a system there is almost constant work for the tractor. A competent engineer is hired for the season or the year. This man through his experience is able to get the best results from the tractor, doing away with any trouble and delay that might be caused by an incompetent workman.

The money invested by each member of a co-operative power-farming company is comparatively small. In fact it is not so much as he formerly invested in extra horses which he used only in the rush season and extra plows and other machinery. The income is nearly constant, for the engine is busy almost the year round. The only thing that really hinders the complete working out of such a scheme is the human element. Each man may find something in the man-

agement of the outfit that does not exactly suit him. These troubles have, however, been settled successfully by many threshing rings and farming companies.

Mr. Horace C. Baker, writing in the *Country Gentleman* of January 4, tells of one other farm, which combines the owning and renting system with certain manufacturing features. This is the remarkable farm of Mr. C. I. Cook, of Menominee, Mich. This farm comprises 3,500 acres, which with its equipment, is worth at least \$200,000. It is conducted exactly like an up-to-date industrial plant. It has a central administration building, drainage system, road system, light system. A large dairy is conducted. Canning, preserving and pickling is carried on. A large pump, throwing out 45,000 barrels of water daily, irrigates a division devoted to truck farming. The truck farms are laid out in plots of from ten to twenty acres. Tenants are located on each plot in a separate house, for the summer only. In the winter they go back to the city to live. Everything produced on the farm is worked up on the ground and the waste put back on the land.

Machinery has been introduced to an extent never before seen in the vicinity. A well-known Russian beet-seed grower, while visiting in this country, had occasion to look over the Cook farms. After a thorough investigation he declared that with the machinery used, beets could be cultivated and grown cheaper upon these farms than in his own country, although there hand labor receives only from seventeen to fifty cents a day. He also stated that the help upon the Cook farms was capable of not less than one hundred per cent more work than his help at home. Mr. Cook is growing a large acreage of sugar beets for seed purposes, principally as an experimental crop, as most of the beet seed now used in this country is grown in Europe.

These instances will serve to illuminate the census figures and show the great tendency of capital to go into large scale farming as a source of profit. It is not the contention of this article that the figures given from the census prove conclusively that the economic theory of Marx as to the final trustification of the agricultural industry, is sustained. The object is to set forth the facts relating to the present tendency of capital to engage in large scale farming. Some economists will say that there is an opposite tendency of larger proportions numerically, carrying the movement in agriculture toward small scale farming. That is not the question here. But it must be remembered that small scale farming

means also tenantry, which condition included 37% of all the farmers in the United States, and which is increasing as shown above. Sufficient is given above to prove that large scale farming is on the increase. The various methods by which it is going forward are full of interest. The success of the large producers like Mr. Charles P. Taft, with his 200,000 acre Texas farm is attracting the attention of other big capitalists. Example is contagious, especially when large profits are promised.

The effect of this development on the farm workers is plain. Just as in manufacturing industry they have been displaced by machinery, or reduced to mere machine tenders, so in the agricultural industry. For years we have heard the wail of the farm employer for willing laborers. But the laborer would not stay on the farm and would drift to the city. Anyone who has ever been a farm laborer can readily understand why the farm laborer wanted to quit. The small farm employer is about the most merciless exploiter to be found. The writer, in all his experience as a farm laborer, never found but one employer who had any consideration for his "help." Usually it was work from sun up to darkness. The last and worst experience was on a dairy farm in southwestern New York, where three of us, the employer and two men, rose at 4 a. m., milked 49 cows, worked all day in the fields, milked 49 cows again and went to bed at 8 p. m. This for \$1.00 per day. Even the steel industry is no worse. Still, the farm work had to be done. In justice to the farmer it must be said that he worked as hard as the men.

Because men became scarce, machines were developed to do the work. Now farm laborers are becoming less a necessity. The farm laborer is but a casual worker, needed a short time in the harvest season, and since small power engines and electric motors have become general in use, even a great part of the chores are done by machinery. Some of the great farming states, which have been settled long enough to develop fixed tendencies, show a loss of rural population, which cannot be accounted for in any other way than this.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of December 7, commenting on the loss of rural population in Illinois, says: "The farm population of Illinois decreased 7% in the last decade,



according to the census, and the value of farm machinery increased from \$45,000,000 to \$74,000,000. Also the number of horses increased 9% to the cultivated acre. With more and better machinery and more draft animals, fewer hands are needed to cultivate a given number of acres under our present system of extensive farming. This is what the decrease of farm population—or its failure to increase—in the Mississippi Valley means. Machinery takes the place of men."

The citation of Illinois is a mistake, the *Post* probably means Iowa, which lost 7.2% of its rural population, or 119,869 people. Indiana lost 5.1% or 89,127. Missouri lost 3.5% or 69,716. In these three states respectively, the value of machinery increased from \$57,960,660 to \$95,477,948; from \$27,330,370 to \$40,999,451; from \$28,602,680 to \$50,873,994.

The total value of machinery increased from \$749,775,970 to \$1,265,147,783. Urban population increased 11,013,738 or 34.8%; while rural population increased only 4,983,953 or 11.2%. Meanwhile, the value of the leading crops increased as follows: Cereals 79.8%; hay and forage 70.2%; potatoes 69.2%; tobacco 83.0%; cotton 117.3%. The comparatively static condition of rural population is due to the increased amount and efficiency of farm machinery. This is for the whole United States.

Scientific investigation proves the point. Prof. G. L. Warren, of Cornell University, Department of Farm Management, has conducted a survey of a typical New York county (Tompkins). On page 421 he says: "The more efficient and numerous machines become, the larger our farms should be. It is interesting to notice how many of the tools are of very recent development. Almost half of the value of the outlay on a well equipped farm is invested in machinery that has been perfected in the last few years."

On the subject of rural population, Prof. Warren, in a letter to the writer says: "I think the primary reason for the slight increase of rural population (0.6%) is that one farmer can do as much work as two or three could do before.

On the numerical decrease of farms Prof. Warren says: "A good many farms have been lost (11,123) because two farms have

combined." This refers to New York state.

Here we have a most competent authority testifying that the fundamental cause of decrease of rural population and increase of the size of farms is the increased amount and efficiency of machinery.

Capitalists have been quick to recognize the sound economic basis of this tendency. The big farm machinery companies are planning to reap a harvest as the tide advances. The Rumley Company of LaPorte, Indiana, has increased its investments until they now have \$17,000,000 laid out in a plant which is capable of producing all kinds of power machines for farming. Their gas and oil engines are to be found all over the West and Canada. These people spend large sums of money yearly in experiments, competitions, improvements and in other ways calculated to give them secure position in the race for the trade in labor eliminating machinery. Other companies are also preparing. These machinery companies are taking no chances. They are building for a sure thing. Large scale farming is on the increase, and the demand is for machinery which will make the agricultural capitalist more independent of labor than the industrial capitalist is today.

Here enters the Scientific Manager. He will select the laborers for greatest efficiency. He will arrange the work for economy. He will manage the machines so as to decrease the number of men needed, just as he does in other industries. Therefore, the farm laborer tends to become a mere machine tender, a casual worker and a smaller factor in agriculture as time passes.

Power machinery and scientific management will work to best advantage in the sparsely settled countries like our West, Canada, Argentine Republic, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, Siberia and Mexico. In populous countries like Europe (excepting Russia) extensive farming cannot be carried on. The people are crowded together and there is no place for them to go if the fences were "thrown down." But in the new countries, with their great unfenced areas, the power plow turning from 20 to 50 acres daily; the great header and thresher combined with its capacity of 80 to 100 acres a day, these will decide the form and future of agriculture in the new lands.

Supporting the new methods the agri-

cultural school looms up. There need be no long costly period of experimenting. The modern agricultural capitalist need only ask and the school will provide him with tested methods and highly trained men. Agricultural scientists have won great victories in the last generation. They have at last conquered public opinion. From today onward, less money will be spent for war and more for the use of the men who can cultivate an intimate acquaintance with Nature, luring her secrets from her and fitting themselves to train young men and women to make "two blades of grass grow where before but one could live."

But already the agricultural schools are turning out thousands of trained agriculturalists. As the number of schools increase, their trained product will multiply. What is to be done with them? They cannot all find work as managers and experts. They will not consent to become tenants. To become owners of even moderately sized farms becomes increasingly difficult with the average value of 138 acres at \$6,444. With large farms backed by plenty of capital on the increase, where is the young man, even though he have scientific training, to get his capital? State aid, some people say. Canada is trying the experiment. Michigan is talking of it. Railroads, especially in Canada are doing something along that line. But what problem will such an expedient solve? Of what avail is it to seek to divide up the land and increase the number of farm owners when competitive conditions tend toward increased acreage and a decrease in the number of farmers needed?

Considering that the schools will increase and turn out more young men every year, will state aid provide opportunity constantly and in increased degree and permanently for the output of the agricultural school? Will not the supply of would-be

farmers soon exceed the economic demand?

And what of the great numbers of people from the cities who seek to obey the call "back to the land?" Will the state aid them to get land and machinery and fertilizer and training? And if so, how shall the small farmer live against the competition of the great farms with their power machinery?

And after all, when we have had another generation of this wonderful development, and the amount of farm products shall have grown so great that the price drops because of over supply, and because of low profits, great agricultural trusts develop and raise prices as do our other trusts, what then?

Why then, we shall have gone around the circle. Other nations have worked in a circle. Rome reached the period when all her industries, including agriculture, were in the hands of a few. Rome had her vast army of skilled workers reduced to beggary because of slave competition. We are rapidly approaching that condition because of the perfection of semi-automatic and automatic machinery. What are we to do about it? The Barbarians solved Rome's problem by blotting Rome out. Today, there are no barbarous people strong enough to threaten civilization. Even China has at last been conquered by modern ideas. We must find sufficient intelligence within ourselves to raise our civilization out of the circle onto a higher plane. And we shall.

When the revolution in agriculture is complete, the physical basis for Social Democracy shall have been laid. The forces at work are driving us irresistibly toward a scientific reorganization of society. Slowly but certainly the thought is crystallizing in the minds of men, that all this development is for good and that society must finally assume responsibility for the comfort, welfare and happiness of its people.





# Good-Bye, Morse

By W. S. Morrow



COMRADE MORROW.

**O**H, YOU telegraph operator! If it were possible it is quite probable that Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, would turn in his grave, for the modern telephone has come into practical use and is gradually taking the place of the telegraph in the movement of trains. On several of the important railway lines the telephone is being used altogether. The telegraph, however, is retained for emergency use when the telephone circuit fails and also for the transmission of messages other than train orders.

This is simply another illustration of the machine supplanting skilled labor, working with this difference; it is not decreasing the number of men formerly employed but enables a person with no knowledge of the telegraph to be used in the place of the telegraph operator, who does not like the change of machinery. Mechanically the telephone is quicker in operation than the telegraph, although the telegraph is safer in transmission of messages where experienced operators are used. Any plug or dub, man or woman who can pass the required physical examination and the examination on rules of transportation and can write at all legibly can hold down an "Os" job at some way station.

The railway companies in the west generally, at their "way" or "block" stations, give the operators the free use of an old worn out, dismantled box car for a "home" (and it would be a shame to destroy some of them). The pay for such a job out here is \$75 per month and eight hours a

day's work; overtime thirty and fifty cents.

Much agitation is going on for a 20 per cent increase in pay. Our committee, elected by referendum vote, visits the management in a short time. One, at a glance or first thought, would say we would get nothing. Perhaps—but our division of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers is known as "Fighting 54." About two years ago when the 'phones were first installed 'phoners' wages were cut to \$60 and \$65. Our committee was told to get busy and made a trip to St. Paul and asked to have wages put back to same as before. The management said: "Nix for you, we can get operators by the carload now." Our entire organization voted strike. The result was that our demands were granted and more



PART OF THE JOB.

money was given to the heavier jobs. A demonstration of solidarity of the workers.

A few years ago most every youth had aspirations of being a "lightning artist." There are some 75,000 working today. It takes about a year to learn telegraphy and about a day to learn the operation of the telephone. The men and women who have taken jobs as "phoners" are being quickly taken into our organization and we estimate

that the country over, we have unionized about 90 per cent of the jobs. We have made overtures to the various railway labor organizations, with an aim toward *Industrial Unionism* but up to the present have been unsuccessful. The "princes of labor" prefer to go it alone, and remain divided as slaves instead of being united as a fighting class against our common enemy the Capitalist Owning Class.

## Living on Determination in Paterson

By Phillips Russell

THE strike of the Paterson silk workers must now take its place as one of the memorable labor struggles of American history. It began in January, in the dead of winter. It is now mid-summer and still the army of toilers presents an unbroken front to the enemy.

The Lawrence strike, which marked an epoch in American industrial life, lasted ten weeks. The Paterson strike bids fair to last ten months. The Lawrence strikers were fed from the stream of contributions that poured in from an aroused working class. The Paterson workers have had to live mostly on hope, which now has become simply grim determination.

Since the last reports from the seat of war were made in these columns, several new atrocities have been added to the list which the workers of Paterson will carry in their memories and hearts for a long, long time. Among these is the sentencing of Patrick L. Quinlan, organizer, to the penitentiary in Trenton, N. J.; the trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn which resulted in a disagreement; the throwing into jail of Frederick Sumner Boyd; and the murder of the striker, Madonna.

Madonna, one of the most faithful and active of pickets, was shot and killed by an armed thug doing scab work in one of the mills. Several thousand silent strikers escorted his body to its grave and dropped into it their red blossoms, symbol of the blood of the workers.

By her husband's open grave Madonna's wife turned and faced the throng. In broken, halting English she began to speak.

"I do not cry," she said. "Madonna is

dead, but still I cannot cry. They have killed my man, but I shed not one tear. After you win the strike, then maybe I cry. I do not ask help from you, though my man is dead. I ask only that you win this strike."

While this spirit lasts, all the deviltries, cruelties and oppression of the entire capitalist class will avail nothing. Madonna's wife probably had never made a public utterance before in her life but her simple, dry-eyed appeal was more eloquent than the tongues of a thousand gifted orators. She knew how to talk to her people. They heard her message and understood.

At last Paterson officialdom summoned up enough nerve to sentence Quinlan. He was pronounced guilty some time ago of "inciting hostility to the government" on the unsupported testimony of detectives and policemen who got up one after another and swore to the same monotonous lie, saying Pat told the strikers to go out and club the heads off the scabs, though as a matter of fact there were any number of witnesses to prove that Pat did not make a speech that day at all, not even being present in the hall where the gum-shoe men swore he fired off his incendiary and bloody utterances.

But they didn't sentence Quinlan at the time. They were afraid to. There was a certain tenseness in the atmosphere in Paterson at that time and the masters felt a vague, unnamable fear that caused them to decide to await a safer time.

One day afterward they found Pat in the courtroom listening to the trial of Gurley Flynn whereupon they suddenly seized him



and led him before the judge, who sentenced him to two to seven years in the penitentiary. In 48 hours Pat was on his way to the Bastille, chained to a negro burglar. They probably thought they were heaping insult on injury by doing this, but I am sure when Pat saw who his team-mate on the way to prison was to be, he rejoiced that it was a negro burglar and not a Paterson silk manufacturer or a pot-bellied judge with respectability on his countenance and corruption and murder in his heart.

Pat has been an active worker in the Socialist party these many years. But the party saw him railroaded to the penitentiary with scarcely more than a murmur of protest. Can it be that while we are agitating ourselves as to whether commission government will advance or retard the revolution and striving to elect persons to office who are committed to municipal ice-houses the capitalists are quietly stealing our fundamental rights away?

Practically the same set of liars who brought about the conviction of Quinlan tried to send Miss Flynn over the same road, but failed because two jurymen refused to be parties to the crime. The stomachs of Jersey jurymen are strong but perhaps those of these two turned at the last moment. So Gurley will have to stand trial again in the fall when judges and prosecutors have strengthened themselves by a sojourn at the seashore and can put a woman behind the bars for an indefinite number of years without having indigestion afterward.

The trial of Boyd, who is now out on bail after using the same towel in common

with thirty others for two weeks, is going to set a precedent that no revolutionist can ignore. He is charged with "inciting the destruction of private property." In other words he is accused of advocating that dreadful thing—sabotage. He himself is confident of being burned at the stake, but his friends are hopeful that his punishment will be no worse than being boiled in oil—olive oil, which is a soothing emollient and ought to provide an agreeable death.

The Socialist party will find itself in a peculiarly awkward position in Boyd's case. The New Jersey statute he is accused of violating is practically the same as Section 6, Article II, of the Socialist party constitution, and though Boyd has been a valuable worker in the party in New York for several years, the party will hardly dare say much in his defense lest the ghost of the Indianapolis convention rise up to bedevil it. The party will not dare denounce the capitalists in case Boyd is convicted, because the capitalists and the party have agreed and written on their statute books that sabotage ranks with violence and crime, and therefore is to be severely punished!

Boyd's will be the first case in this country dealing with the question of sabotage. It behooves every revolutionist to bestir himself and help raise money for Boyd's defense.

Haywood and Carlo Tresca also will be tried in the fall for high crimes committed against the capitalist class in Paterson. Meantime the strikers are holding on grimly and desperately. They dare not lose.

What is the working class going to do about it?

## Scott Indicted Again

THE conviction of Alexander Scott is a direct result of his great and steadfast aiding of the Paterson silk strikers; this is class "justice" and the mill owners are determined to "get him."

Since the publication of the July REVIEW Comrade Scott has again been indicted by the grand jury. This time the charge is criminal libel and the charge is made by Robert McCabe, who claims to having been slandered by an editorial appearing in the *Weekly Issue* March 29. The editorial upon which the indictment is based is here reproduced. McCabe

denies having any connection with the theft of an issue of the paper and very evidently considers the confiscation of the paper a disgraceful and criminal act. It is significant that those who are cited as being the real thieves have nothing to say. The editorial follows:

### WHO IS THE THIEF?

Although we had Detectives Lord and Keppeler and Patrolmen Clune and Maguire arrested for the theft of the *Weekly Issue*, four weeks ago, we do not for an instant take these men to be the real thieves. We are not, however,

vouching for the character of the local police, but in the theft of the *Issue* we exonerate them. They had orders to take the papers. Just who issued the original orders we are as yet unable to say. This will no doubt develop later.

The circumstances leading up to the confiscation, or rather theft, (we prefer the word theft), are interesting, and (to those who know who is who in Paterson) significant.

On Friday, February 28th, at about 11 a. m., a well-known character in religious-political circles in Paterson—big noise in the T. A. B. Society, entered Socialist Party headquarters on Main Street, took a squint at a copy of the *Weekly Issue*, which was being read by one of the members of the Party, who was then seated at a table near the window of the room, then having reassured himself that the bundles of papers on the floor were identical with that being read by the member at the table, he immediately left the room and next minute he was seen giving orders to Detectives Lord and Keppler, who stood at the corner of Main and Ellison streets. Lord and Keppler immediately proceeded to the Socialist headquarters, where they announced to the two members then present that they had orders

from the Prosecutor to take the papers. The members protested, and after some argument, Lord instructed Keppler to "go over to the Chief and see what we had better do." Had orders been given by the Prosecutor, no such uncertainty would have been felt by the detectives. However, Keppler soon returned accompanied by the two policemen and announced: "Yes, take them." The police then seized the papers without producing any search warrant or showing any order from the Prosecutor. **Who gave the order?** Will the Prosecutor admit having given the order without first having a search warrant issued? Will Chief Bimson admit having given the order without first securing a search warrant? Will the policemen admit having stolen the papers? What part did Robert McCabe play? It would be interesting to know the facts. The trial will bring them out."

It is time the Socialist Party did something beside talking about this case. We think it would be a good thing for the N. E. C. or the N. C. to suggest that the National Office donate some of the money that might have gone for sending folks to Europe to the Scott Defense Fund. What do you think about it?

## The Finnish Working People's College

By George Sirola



**T**HE influences of international capitalism, through American commodities and machines, on the European social and industrial conditions, have driven into America a great many Finnish people, the number of which is 211,026, according to the census of 1910. These immigrants were led and "educated" by ignorant preachers, who were paid well for their petty services and supported by the middle class, the petit bourgeoisie, who are seeking the favor of the trust magnates by teaching the workers religious obedience and national competition among the workers. These people soon found it necessary to establish a school where it could prepare preachers and "educators" to promote

the spirit of nationality among the Finns. For this purpose a school called "People's College" was established in Minneapolis, Minn., 1913, and very soon moved to Smithville, which is a suburb of the city of Duluth.

This attempt, however, was a failure. The students, recruited as they were particularly from the working class, could not be satisfied with the conservative doctrines. They demanded knowledge of real things and modern sciences and compelled the board of directors to provide them with such teachers and lecturers as could instruct them in these particular subjects.

At the same time the Finnish comrades outside the college were beginning to be





STUDENTS DURING 1912.

interested in the college. The socialist locals and individual comrades were purchasing shares of the stock, \$1.00 per share, and they soon, 1907-8, acquired possession of majority of the shares. As soon as the socialists came into control of the college the program was entirely changed and the college since has been known as the "Working Peoples' College."

This meant a new and brighter life for the institution. The students were coming in such numbers that the old building became insufficient and the neighboring houses were also occupied. Courageously a new building was erected in 1910 with a large lecture hall, two class rooms, a gymnasium, office rooms and study rooms for about sixty students. But in a short time this, too, was insufficient, especially when the old building was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1911. The following summer a dining room and kitchen was built and now plans are being made to build a dormitory with library and reception room that will ac-

commodate about ninety students. This having been completed this summer, the value of the institution will be more than fifty thousand dollars.

At the convention of 1908 the Finnish Socialist Organization accepted the college as its own and for the following two years the Finnish comrades were paying dues, \$1.00 a year for the maintenance of the college. The convention of 1912, held at the college, decided that these dues should be only 50 cents a year and it also emphasized the fact that as an institution owned by the working class its service to the workers should be principally the teaching of subject important in the class struggle.

The study of socialism was divided into three courses—the preparatory scientific course, and the scientific courses I and II. The preparatory course, including economics, history, politics and socialist program and tactics, is compulsory even for those students who wish to attend the college for the purpose of studying bookkeeping, arithmetic and the

English or Finnish languages. Each student is also required to take an active part in exercises for practical party work. The scientific courses I and II are for the students whose principal aim is to specialize in the study of the class struggle and in organization work. The works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and others of the best authors on socialism are being studied and the text books used are both in English and Finnish.

Through frequent and strict recitations and examinations the advancement of the students are tested. The more advanced students prepare original lectures, essays and articles on socialist topics. The college has already sent out several editors for the party press, speakers, lecturers and organizers in the rank and file. The faculty, with the aid of the students, has each year issued a publication called "Revolution," this year's issue being the sixth.

The teaching of the English language and preparing the students for participating in the work of the English locals and unions are, of course, the principal aims of this institution at the present time. Besides the regular study periods, the students are requested to attend the English Debating Club, where, occasionally, comrades from Duluth or other

places in the vicinity give talks in English. Last winter the students subscribed for the Lyceum Lecture Course and for next year the plans have been made to have one English lecturer and socialist teacher as a member of the faculty.

Previous to this time the school has been in session only six months of the year, which was one continuous term, but now two months have been added to the time and this is divided into two terms of four months each.

Last winter there were in attendance 136 students, of which 33 were women. The students were from all parts of the United States and Canada where Finnish people live. The next winter a still larger attendance is expected, although the board and tuition, which has been \$20 per month is raised to \$22.

For the benefit of those comrades who are unable to attend college, a correspondence department was organized in connection with the college. The students of this department receive instructions in the English and Finnish languages, arithmetic and political economy.

The readers of the REVIEW might take pleasure in knowing that there prevails a radical spirit among the faculty and the students in the college.

## Debs Denounces Critics

From the N. Y. Call

Terre Haute, Ind., June 27.—The National Committee of the Socialist party in its regular session in May appointed a committee of three to investigate conditions in West Virginia. That committee, of which the writer was a member, was instructed to work in harmony with the United Mine Workers.

Having completed its investigation the committee has submitted its report, and it is in reference to this report, which has been widely published, that I now have something to say in answer to those who have assailed it.

First of all I want to say that I shall make no defense of the report. It does not need defense. It will answer for itself. But I do want to show the true

animus of its critics and assailants, which they have been careful not to reveal in what they have written against it.

Two or three Socialist papers have bitterly condemned the report. Not one of them published it. Each of them suppressed it. They evidently did not want their readers to see it. It was sufficient for them to condemn it.

These Socialist papers have in this instance adopted the method of the capitalist papers with which I have had so much experience. A thousand times a speech of mine has been denounced by a capitalist paper while not a line of the speech was permitted to appear. That is precisely what these Socialist papers have done with our report, and if this is fair



to themselves and their readers, I am willing to let it pass.

When our committee was appointed, more than sixty of our comrades were in the bullpen, martial law was in full force, two Socialist papers had been suppressed and there was a terrible state of affairs generally. Within four days after our committee arrived upon the ground every prisoner was released, martial law was practically declared off, the suppressed papers were given to understand that they could resume at their pleasure, and the governor of the state gave his unqualified assurance that free speech, free assemblage and the right to organize should prevail and that every other constitutional right should be respected so far as lay in his power.

It may be that our committee had nothing to do with bringing about these changes. As to this I have nothing to say. I simply state the facts.

Soon after our arrival it became evident that a certain element was hostile to the United Mine Workers and determined to thwart the efforts of that organization to organize the miners. This is the real source of opposition to our action and to our report.

Let me say frankly here that I do not hide behind the instruction of the National Committee that we work in harmony with the United Mine Workers. I would have done this under existing circumstances without instruction.

In our report to the party we made a true transcript of the facts as we found them. We told the truth as we saw it.

And yet we have been charged by the element in question with having whitewashed Governor Hatfield and betrayed the party.

The truth is that we opposed Governor Hatfield where he was wrong and upheld him where he was right.

But Hatfield is not the reason, but only the excuse in this instance. The intense prejudice prevailing against him has been taken advantage of to discredit our report as a means of striking a blow at the United Mine Workers.

Had we, instead of doing plain justice to Governor Hatfield, as to everyone else, painted him black as a fiend, our report would have provoked the same bitter at-

tack from the same source unless we had denounced the officials of the United Mine Workers, without exception, as crooks and grafters and in conspiracy to keep the miners in slavish subjection.

That would have satisfied those who are now so violently assailing us. Nothing less would.

For this reason and no other we are being vilified by saboteurs and anti-political actionists, and by those who are for just enough political action to mask their anarchism.

I am an industrial unionist, but not an industrial bummereyite, and those who are among the miners of West Virginia magnifying every petty complaint against the United Mine Workers and arousing suspicion against every one connected with it, are the real enemies of industrial unionism and of the working class.

I am quite well aware that there are weak and crooked officials in the United Mine Workers, but to charge that they are all traitors without exception is outrageously false and slanderous.

The whole trouble is that some Chicago I. W. W.-ites, in spirit at least, are seeking to disrupt and drive out the United Mine Workers to make room for the I. W. W. and its program of sabotage and "strike at the ballot box with an ax."

To this I was, and am, and shall be, opposed with all my might, and if this be treason, I am guilty without a doubt.

The I. W. W.-ists have never done one particle of organizing, or attempted to, in the dangerous districts of West Virginia. The United Mine Workers have been on the job for years and all that the saboteurs have done is to denounce their officials and organizers as crooks and attempt in every way possible to defeat their efforts.

The United Mine Workers is steadily evolving into a thoroughly industrial union and in time it will certainly become so, but never in a thousand years will the efforts of these disrupters unionize the miners of West Virginia or any other state.

I now want to ask those who are denouncing our report under the false pretense that we have whitewashed Governor Hatfield, if Mother Jones and John W. Brown are also crooks and traitors?

Both have been and are today in the employ of the officials of the United Mine Workers.

Will these I. W. W.-ites charge that Mother Jones and John Brown are in the service of crooks and traitors? That is exactly what their charge, stripped of its false pretense, amounts to, but they will not dare to put it in that form.

If President White, Vice President Hayes, Germer, Haggerty, Paul Paulsen, and all the rest of the national, district and local officials of the United Mine Workers, including the numerous organizers who have been slugged and beaten up, are crooks and traitors, as these "strike at the ballot box with an ax" dis-organizers would have you believe, then Mother Jones and John Brown, who have been and are in their service, and working hand in hand with them, must certainly know it, and knowing it, must be quite as guilty as those who employ them and pay them their salaries.

There is nothing to be gained but everything to be lost by the mad attempt being made by the anti-political actionists and physical forcists to disrupt and destroy the United Mine Workers. I am

not at all in harmony with its entire program and there is much in it that I would change, but I believe that properly encouraged and rightly directed it can within the near future be made a thoroughly revolutionary industrial union, one of the greatest in the world, the "Hallelujah—I'm a Bum" element to the contrary notwithstanding.

The charge has been directly made that our committee betrayed its trust. If there is even the shadow of a foundation for this charge, then not only should the report of the committee be repudiated, but the committee itself be expelled from the party.

Let those who have made this charge against us produce their proof and make their appeal to the party for a referendum vote.

So far as I am concerned the report stands. I have no apology for a word in it. During the two weeks our committee was in Charleston we worked day and night with painstaking care to conscientiously perform our duty, and I am more than willing that the party shall decide whether we did it or whether we betrayed our trust.

## A Reply to Debs

Editor of the *Call*:

In your issue of June 28 appears an article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, headed "Debs Denounces Vilifiers of West Virginia Committee Report." As one of the parties referred to as "vilifiers," I would like to answer a few of the points made in the article.

The *Socialist and Labor Star* bitterly condemned the committee's report; it did not publish it, but it did give an explanation for suppressing it, in the following words: "We have never, and will never, devote any of our space to whitewashing a cheap political tool of the capitalist class, not even when the whitewash is mixed by a committee representing our own party."

From Comrade Debs' own words I will endeavor to prove that our condemnation of the report was justified. Our charges against the report were that it

was a "weak mass of misstatements and a sickening eulogy of Dictator Hatfield." The truth of the last clause of the charge is plainly apparent to everyone who has read the report. The truth of the first clause is well known to all who have taken the trouble to inform themselves regarding the trouble in this state.

Comrade Debs says that when the committee arrived in West Virginia more than sixty of our comrades were in jail and two of our papers were suppressed. All true. Now pay particular attention to dates. The committee arrived in West Virginia on May 17. Hatfield was inaugurated governor on March 4, something over two months previous. These comrades had been held in—or put in—jail at Hatfield's orders, and the papers had been suppressed at his command. Mother Jones, Editor Boswell, National Committeeman Brown, and forty-six other So-



cialists were placed on trial before a military drumhead court-martial on March 7. On March 9, the Circuit Court of Kanawha County issued a writ forbidding the trial of these prisoners by the militia. The sheriff went into the military zone to serve this writ, only to be met by the Provost Marshal, who, acting under orders from Hatfield, forcibly prevented the serving of the papers, and the drumhead trial proceeded in defiance of the civil courts.

The report of our committee says: "It was under the administration of Glasscock, and not Hatfield, that Mother Jones, C. H. Boswell and John Brown were court-martialed and convicted."

On April 25, the Charleston *Labor Argus* was confiscated, suppressed, and those suspected of being connected with it were thrown into jail. On May 9 the *Socialist and Labor Star* was confiscated, its plant destroyed and five of its owners jailed—by order of Governor Hatfield.

Our committee's report referring to these outrages says: "In this connection it is but fair to say that the governor and his friends disavow knowledge of these outrages!"

According to Comrade Debs' article, it did not take him long to discover "that a certain element was hostile to the United Mine Workers." Apparently, however, he failed to discover that there were numerous elements hostile to Socialism. There was an element hostile to the United Mine Workers' officials who had just leagued themselves with Hatfield and agreed upon a "settlement" of the strike, which was odious to the strikers and which they have since totally repudiated. Comrade Debs uses this "element" that was hostile to the United Mine Workers as a shield to hide behind when we attack him for whitewashing Hatfield. Then he pours out this vial of wrath upon us:

"The whole trouble is that some Chicago I. W. W.-ites, in spirit, at least, are seeking to disrupt and drive out the United Mine Workers to make room for the I. W. W. and its program of sabotage."

Speaking for myself, I will say that I have never seen a real live I. W. W.-ite. If there is or has ever been such an animal in West Virginia I am blissfully un-

aware of the fact. However, I have heard considerable of this new species from the capitalistic press and I note that the capitalists are very hostile toward it. I consider that a good recommendation for a labor organization and will certainly not speak slightly of it or condemn it as long as the parasites fear it, but as for the I. W. W. being responsible for the attack on the Mine Workers' officials, who deliberately attempted to betray the Kanawha strikers, I think Comrade Debs' fear was father to the thought.

Then Debs dramatically points to Mother Jones and John Brown as evidence that the Mine Workers' officials are straightforward and honest, or these two class-conscious comrades would not work for them. And I come right back with the assertion that both Mother Jones and Brown have worked, not for these officials whom he so vigorously defends, but for the rank and file of the workers.

Comrade Debs drags in this trouble between the miners and their officials in an attempt to cloud the real issue. The charges are that the West Virginia committee's report was unworthy of our party. And I ask him if either Mother Jones or Brown have indorsed that report? I will go further and state that they have denounced it—and will ask Comrade Debs if he classes them as "Chicago I. W. W.-ites"?

Comrade Debs concludes his article with, "So far as I am concerned the report stands. I have no apology for a word of it"; yet I have before me a communication from Comrade Debs, dated June 30, in which he says:

"When I said in my last letter to the *Socialist and Labor Star* that I would not change a word in our committee's report, I should have made the exception to the reference to the administration under which Mother Jones, Boswell, Brown and other comrades were tried by military court-martial." Evidently he is beginning to study that famous document and compare it with the facts in the case. I wish to ask the committee, and especially Comrade Debs, by just what line of reasoning they arrived at the conclusion to donate three-fifths of their report to ex-

onerating Hatfield of charges which had never been made against him, and in passing so lightly over the fact that when they arrived here they found that he was illegally holding in prison sixty of their

comrades, and had arbitrarily suppressed two of our papers?

W. H. THOMPSON,  
Editor *Socialist and Labor Star*.  
Huntington, W. Va., July 2, 1913.

# Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

*Effect of Pure-and-Simplism Upon the German Labor Movement Since 1900*

PART IV—Continued

3. *Lack of international solidarity and response is the third weak point of German proletarians.* True, the German Socialist movement as a whole, including the most advanced trade unions, contributed handsomely during the general strike in Sweden and the revolution of 1905 in Russia. But the trade unions proper, in their economic sphere, that is at the point of production, and outside of financial relief sent abroad, show a remarkable lack of response in times of great stress as in the international class struggle. January 14, 1911, the International Transport Workers' Federation, with which the German seamen, longshoremen, and other transport workers are affiliated, declared a general strike in accordance with the decision adopted at its conference held at Antwerp in March, 1911.

At this conference the German delegates refused their consent to take part in the strike on the ground that their seamen had recently received an advance in wages. Finally, the conference, *including the German delegates*, decided that in case further efforts for improving the condition of the workers in English ports failed, the long-threatened international strike should be called. Now, the strike *was* called, but the German seamen *refused to support it*.

(4) Social Democrats, though they are in overwhelming numbers, with all their Marxian training and their fervent belief in the advent of the Social Revolution, the German workers *show very little of genuine revolutionary grit*, far less than do the Frenchmen or even Italians. One of the sore spots in the friction between the party and the trade unions is their wrangles anent the First of May. The trade unions are

unwilling or afraid to sacrifice a day's wages or to make any serious attempt to compel the recognition on the part of the employers, of May 1 as the International Day of Labor's emancipation.

Is it not a painful reflection upon the German wage-workers that they lack revolutionary grain or anything like class impulse and combative abandon, some self-forgetful strain in their blood? And how astonishing that over two millions of Social-Democrats organized in trade unions equipped with enormous funds are so deplorably weak that they cannot fight off one day in the year for fittingly proclaiming the historic mission of their class!

Again, the same German workers coming to countries with a higher stage of capitalism very soon lose all the Socialist training and the modest dose of class-consciousness they had at home. This is notably the case in this country. A great many of those who have come over from Germany as Social Democrats have entered the best-paying crafts and have become bona fide pure-and-simpler of the Gompers-Mitchell stripe. They are among the strongest champions of craft-unionism. They are permeated with the ideas and feelings of the small bourgeois.

We have with us, of course, a good many German Socialists and some of these were the pioneers in the American Socialist movement. But these belong to an earlier formation; they date from the heroic days in the history of the Social Democracy, from the period of revolutionary storm and stress, of persecution and martyrdom under the Anti-Socialist Law at home. And even



these have, in the course of time, in many cases, evolved into staunch Gompersites.

The later installments from Germany were for the most part, still more bourgeois in their moral fibre and mental make-up, and are content with their flesh pots. Of course, the *brewers* are organized *industrially* and have materially helped the American Socialist movement in its infancy. But, then, the German beer breweries form a closed industry where practically none but Germans are admitted and where the workers are on terms of beautiful harmony with the beer magnates.

The German brewery workers in this country, besides, also belong in the main, to the earlier batches of immigrants of the pioneer days. In the American labor movement proper they are far from being the progressive element to forge ahead and lead the class struggle in more advanced forms, to blaze the way for genuine proletarian Socialism,—that is far from what we should expect them to be in proportion to the Socialist training they have brought with them from Germany, this classic home of the Social-Democratic movement.

(5) *Lack of general initiative and creative self-action* is what *plagues them the most*. This is shown in a variety of ways.

It seems that the German workers will be *the last* to take up *industrial unionism*. The workers in France, Italy, England, Australia, and the United States are beginning to wake up. They are on the way of making short work with craft-unionism, trade autonomy, long-drawn strikes that spell defeat, written agreements, arbitration swindles, and all the other shackles with which reactionary craftism chains its organized dupes and hands them over to the mercies of the capitalists. They also begin to see that labor "aristocracies" are the worst traitors to the cause of the proletariat and that all wage workers, skilled and unskilled alike, must be ultimately welded into one big class union in order to win now and always.

The German workers are so far the only ones under the sway of centralized capitalism who do not feel the throb of this great creative movement, these birth-throes that herald the advent of a *new proletariat* with *the motto of industrial socialism on its banner*. True, a number of trades in Germany are organized in industrial federa-

tions, some of them quite strong, as, for instance, in the building, metal, and wood-working industries. There are also a great number of local central bodies, organized on the plan of the various Central Labor Unions or Councils, in this country. But these federations and central bodies differ in no essential from our American A. F. L. creations.

Both are imbued with the same fossilized spirit of a "fair wage for a fair day's labor." Both hold fast to sacred contracts. Both swear to the omnipotence of "funds," of prohibitively high dues, and feel they couldn't venture a step beyond the precincts protected by the magic of a great supply of yellow coin. Both believe they can beat ("lick") the employers in the game of dollars or marks. Both feed a huge beaurocracy. Both fight shy of real democracy in so far as the referendum and recall may interfere with or check that very beaurocracy. The German variety is even more timid than its cousins in this country or in England. In this connection the following facts are highly symptomatic of the general craft-union tone pervading the entire labor movement in Germany.

Samuel Gompers, while attending the International Labor Congress in Vienna, Austria had to swallow some bitter pills and lump down with all his Gompersian blandness of manner the fierce attacks directed against him and his Federation. Now who denounced him? Who gave him a piece of their minds?

The severe drubbing came *not from the German delegates*, but from the Austrians! The uncrowned Czar of the A. F. L., on the contrary, had a right royal good time in Germany in a sort of triumphal march through the Teutonic domain of craft-unionism. The same was true of Carl Legien while on his lecturing tour in this country. In his address delivered at the meeting in Star Casino, New York, he held up Gompers as a model leader of the workers in the economic field.

The German Social-Democratic unions have almost nothing to organize the railroad and postal employees. That the railroads are run by the government, which is, of course, extremely hostile to labor organizations, especially among its wage slaves, is a lame way of accounting for this deplorable fact. The French government is

not a whit better than the German; it is just as brutal, just as servile a tool of capitalism, and just as relentless in crushing out any traces of organization among its employees in the railroad and mail service and its educational department. The same is true of Italy. It is hardly necessary to mention Russia in this connection. Wherever, outside of Germany the railroad workers are organized, their federations are the strongest, as is the case in Italy, France, England and the United States.

In Germany, they are the weakest in point of organization and resistance. And yet, these railroad and other government employees are splendidly represented in the Reichstag on the Social-Democratic left,—a boon which their brothers in other countries are either entirely deprived of or enjoy to a much smaller extent. So that the above plea simply amounts to shifting the blame to where it does not belong. The gist of the matter is plainly this: to organize the workers in the state-run industries or in the civil service would require an amount of initiative, organizing effort, and militant energy clearly beyond the powers of the German trade unions.

Again these unions haven't a single case to their credit as far as winning a more or less general strike is concerned. We have referred above to the miners. A few years ago the general strike in the metal trades fizzled out just as completely in spite of all the help they got from the Social Democracy,—the kind and amount of help, both moral and financial, that the workers of no other country have at their command.

Finally, during the last two years the curse of high prices and indirect taxation of foodstuffs hit the German workers hardest, far more severely than in any other country with large industry and a parasitic landed aristocracy. The suffering and destitution of the German city proletariat became very acute. Now, what did this trade-union movement do? A movement apparently so strong in point of numbers, so

splendidly equipped from the craft-union standpoint, with all the manifold leverage sufficiently outlined above, *could* have done a great deal.

Here was a chance to show the full force it commands; it was not merely a splendid chance, but a sacred duty to obey, the urgent call, the *groan* of the whole German proletariat on the verge of despair pleading for immediate action. The trade unions *ought* to have brought out all their battalions and convulsed the whole country in a general strike, backed by all the help of the huge Social Democracy in and out of the Reichstag.

What the proletariat of Vienna did in one city, the German unions could have done on a far greater scale, with a far more effective organization, and for Germany as a whole. With their numbers, funds, their party, and all their other brilliant assets they should have tied up *all industry, commerce, and shipping*. What the English workers have in part accomplished in their recent general strike was far less than what the Germans could have accomplished. They could have effectively paralyzed all German capitalism and completely disorganized the state machine.

The ruling class with their government wouldn't have dared to answer the cry of the starving masses with a sneer, as was the case in the Reichstag. Such an upheaval of the organized German proletariat would have sent a shiver down the sleek backs of Germany's parasites and brought them down on their knees. The Imperial Chancellor would have been compelled to find a way to deal with the agrarian tariff and all the other forms of loot and tribute the proletariat has to pay the brigands of industry, finance, and agriculture. Instead of relief, the German proletariat got nothing but derision and evasive talk. Why? Because *the trade unions, with or without the Social Democracy, have absolutely failed to rise to the occasion.*







Photo by Barratt, London.

COMRADES WHO TOOK PART IN THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL PROTEST MEETING AGAINST WAR HELD IN LONDON, ENGLAND. NAMES, LEFT TO RIGHT—J. F. GREEN, W. S. LANDERS, EDMUND AUSLEE (BELGIUM), J. MIDDLETON, LUDWIG FRANK (GERMANY), J. KEIR HARDIE, JEAN LONGUET (FRANCE), PLATIN E. DRAKOULIS (GREECE), MISS SCATCHARD.

## Appeal from Greek Comrades

THE following is a portion of the international appeal sent out by the Greek Socialist Party to comrades all over the world. It is signed by Miss Felicia Scatcherd, vice-president of the Greek S. P., P. E. Drakoules, one of the oldest Socialists in that country, and General Secretary P. Harokopos. The first two of these comrades are among the international delegates to the International Socialist Anti-War Meeting held two or three months ago, whose photograph is reproduced here.

"The situation in Greece, in consequence of the mobilization, is no less critical and acute than in the rest of the Balkans. The whole country is suffering from the devastating effects of war due to loss of employment, dispersion and deaths.

"In Greece, as in the other belligerent countries, our propaganda has been particularly crippled, and our Socialist Labor Center at 40 Rue Pirée, Athens, as well as its branches in the provinces,

must soon be closed through lack of funds.

"The splendid campaign of the last five years is now threatened.

"Owing to the recent imposition of martial law, freedom of speech is suspended. This increases the difficulty of our propaganda, which must cease unless help be forthcoming.

"Already we have been compelled to discontinue our weekly organ *Erevna*. It has been published at great loss for the last two years (and at a still greater sacrifice since the mobilization). The editor hopes to resume its publication as a monthly periodical after the war is over, when a new public will have to be created, as the greater number of its subscribers have been lost sight of.

"We appeal to our comrades of all nationalities, to send us contributions.

"All donations should be sent to

"Miss Felicia Scatcherd, the vice-president of the Greek Socialist Party, 14 Park Square, Regent's Park, London, Eng.

# EDITORIAL

**The Battle Front Shifting.**—All over the world the tremendous battle between wage-workers and capitalists is growing hotter and fiercer, but everywhere, and especially in the United States there are rapid and bewildering changes of front, so that if we are not careful we may waste our ammunition or turn our guns against our friends to the delight of the enemy. Fifteen years ago most American Socialists were arguing about the waste of competition. Some of us have not stopped yet. But the big capitalists who really run things understand the wastes of competition far better than we do and they are putting a stop to them in short order. Any further argument along these lines on our part is energy wasted. Again, even as lately as last year, we thought it worth while to devote several planks of our platform to the subject of the conservation of natural resources and industrial development through the aid of the United States government. Here again it is becoming obvious that the capitalists who control the government realize the benefits of such action better than we do and that they are going ahead to do the things we have been talking about. The Panama Canal is the first great object lesson in the efficiency of American state capitalism. It will probably be followed in quick succession by the development under government control of the mineral resources of Alaska and by a comprehensive scheme for utilizing the waters of the Mississippi river and its tributaries in a way to develop electric power, promote navigation and prevent floods. Meanwhile it is altogether likely that the government will inaugurate a grand system of improved highways allover the United States, and the government ownership of railways is a possibility not far ahead. And as for the more immediate future, it looks at present writing as if the Democrats under President Wilson's leadership were going to surprise the world with a really

efficient administration of things, as capitalists reckon efficiency. The new tariff and especially the new banking law are likely to bring profits to American exporters and steady jobs at subsistence wages to American wage-workers. The men whose jobs are threatened by these laws are the wage-workers of England and Germany.

**Industrial Crises and Panics.**—Our Marxian theory of crises is no doubt correct in the long run, and even in the short run when the country under consideration is one like England or Belgium, which has already developed its own natural resources to the fullest extent profitable. Roughly speaking, the wage-worker gets only a fifth of what he produces, provided he is using modern machinery to work with, and if all the wage-workers were producing consumable goods the market would quickly be glutted; as a matter of fact it often has been glutted in Europe. But here in America the capitalist class could use all the surplus labor of the workers for a generation in building railroads, developing water power for the transmission of electric energy, opening up new mines, building irrigation works, making good roads and motor trucks to run on them, and in other similar ways. They have been doing it continuously as fast as inventors have pointed out the way and have grown rich doing it. The one serious obstacle has been an extremely defective banking system, which breaks down every few years and throws a lot of wage-workers out of a job, while the big capitalists are gleefully devouring some of the little ones. Woodrow Wilson has brains enough to see the trouble and has his experts at work on a remedy. Unless we are greatly mistaken the new banking law and the other reforms which Wilson is urging will bring an era of "prosperity" the like of which has never been seen. Not prosperity for the wage-worker; all he will get will be a steady



job. But the little capitalists as well as the big ones probably have a few years of genuine happiness ahead of them. And the little capitalists, who, it must be remembered, have more votes than the big ones, are rapidly losing all their horror for that state capitalism which is sometimes wrongly called state Socialism; on the contrary they are coming to realize that it is their one best chance to save themselves from extinction. To us it seems that an era of state capitalism is inevitable and near.

**Back to First Principles.**—The Socialist Party of America has done during the past ten years an educational work of immense importance. It is hard for us to realize that the battle against individualism in production has been fought and won; yet we must realize this if we are to be a serious factor in the struggles still to come. Henceforth, we as a party, have nothing to offer the little capitalist. The Democrats or the Progressives will take care of his interests more effectively than we could possibly do. Nor have we anything to offer the craft unionists who are satisfied to let the wage system continue if only they may get relatively high wages for themselves. They can get plenty of concessions from the wise politicians of the capitalist class who realize the wisdom of yielding a little to save the rest. The Socialist Party must be revolutionary or it will be ridiculous. The spirit of revolution is spreading as never before among the great mass of American wage-workers. Their discontent is growing fiercer day by day; millions of them are ready to join in rising to sweep away the whole structure of capitalist society, if only some one would point out the way. In spite of all this our party officials have been fighting the one national labor organization which attempts to organize these rebellious wage-slaves, while they fraternize with the officials of the conservative unions. No wonder we have lost fifty thousand members in a few months, as stated by the "Party Builder." The reformers attracted by our belated propaganda naturally lose their enthusiasm when they see their pet reforms in a fair way to be realized by Woodrow Wilson and his followers. And those who really

want capitalism abolished are discouraged and alienated by the anxiety of our officials to protect capitalist property and make the Socialist Party respectable. If the Socialist Party is to live and grow, it has only one possible course. It must go back to first principles; it must take up once more with renewed energy its educational work along the lines laid down in the Communist Manifesto; it must make the cause of the militant wage-workers its own cause and throw itself unreservedly into the class struggle.

**Immigration and Labor.**—The effect of immigration on the wage-workers of the United States is a subject that has been buried under floods of impassioned oratory so long that it is refreshing to have the actual facts presented in a really intelligent manner by a writer with a clear grasp of the questions involved and one who reasons from the viewpoint of economic determinism. Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, a Marxian student who has given years of research to the immigration question, has produced a book that leaves nothing but fine dust of the resounding arguments against the admission of foreigners into the United States. It is entitled "Immigration and Labor," and is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. He analyzes, one by one, the arguments of the anti-immigration orators, and punctures each in turn with neatness and dispatch. We have room for only a few examples. It is urged that the new immigration is inferior in quality to that of a generation ago. The author quotes pages of the most respectable authorities of the former generation showing that "every complaint against the immigrants from eastern and southern Europe is but an echo of the complaints which were made at an earlier day from Ireland, Germany and even England." The claim is constantly made that immigration causes unemployment. Dr. Hourwich proves that where there is most immigration there is the least unemployment, also that at periods of depression the immigrants go back to Europe faster than they come. As to the effect of immigration on the standard of living, he shows that in the states where many immigrants have set-

tled, the average wages are higher than in the states where foreign labor is almost unknown. As to hours of labor, it is proved that hours are shortest in the sections of the country where immigration has been the greatest. Child labor, again, is most prevalent where there are fewest immigrants. As to the increase of crime, the author brings a wealth of facts to show that crime decreases when and where immigration increases, and vice versa. All these facts tend to show that

the "imported laborer" is largely a myth. Immigrants as a rule go where wages are comparatively high and jobs plenty. American capitalists can use more unskilled labor, and they are going to get it. Any attempt to restrict immigration will merely retard evolution and prolong capitalism. The intelligent thing is to ORGANIZE the unskilled laborers into One Big Union. This must come, and the sooner it comes, the sooner the capitalist system will go.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**Militarism Rampant.**—Turkey has been defeated. The treaty which formally ends the original Balkan war has been signed. Yet war goes on and the war spirit seems to be the controlling influence throughout continental Europe. A new conflict has broken out in the near east. Already it threatens to involve other nations besides those immediately involved. And in three countries legislative bodies are in the very act of increasing the size of armies and armaments.

**Economic Determinism in the Balkans.** A good share of Europe rejoiced at the outcome of the first Balkan war. At last the "unspeakable" Turk had been practically driven out; at last Bulgaria and Serbia were to have a fair chance to develop their industrial and agricultural resources.

But during the closing days of June the papers were filled with confused reports of battles. War had not been declared, yet the King of Greece was leading an expedition against the Bulgarians and there were tales of battles between Bulgarians and Servians. It was said, moreover, that the Roumanians were about to take advantage of the opportunity to make an attack on Bulgaria. The moment the heathen Turk was out of the way the good Christians were flying at one another's throats.

The reason is very simple and very human: the victors have fallen out over the division of the spoils. When they combined in their supreme effort to drive out the Turk their common purposes, and

especially their common hatred of the enemy, blinded them for the moment to their national antipathies. Only Bulgaria and Serbia had a written agreement as to the division of the advantages which might result from a victory. And even this document has proved of little value. In the first place, it provided that Serbia was to have her long-desired path to the Adriatic. But when the victory over Turkey was sufficiently advanced so that this provision could be acted upon, Austria intervened and bluntly declared that Serbia should never be allowed to have an Adriatic port. In the second place, the allies conquered a much larger territory than they anticipated. When the war was over all that was left to Turkey was Constantinople, with a little rim of country immediately about it on the Bosphorus. The great stretches of European Turkey had fallen into the hands of the allies. In the agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria there was no provision for the division of such extensive territories. So the Christians really had something to quarrel about and no solemn promises to break before beginning operations.

When the prospect of disturbance was unmistakable, the Russian Government invited the representatives of the Balkan nations to a conference. Austria, exhibiting a truly Christian spirit, declared solemnly that she would not interfere in Balkan affairs, but she wanted it distinctly understood that she had an interest in them and would not take her eyes off the situation. At any rate, the Balkan



nations did not accept the generous invitation of the Czar.

As has been said, war was not declared. The first thing the world knew the fighting began. It was informal, but very effective. One report has it that there has already been a loss of 40,000 men. The fortunes of battle seem to have varied. The latest report as the REVIEW goes to press (July 10) has it that the Bulgars have been beaten by both Servians and Greeks. They have, it seems, been driven out of Macedonia and are caught between the two opposing forces.

Of course, the purely military and diplomatic aspects of a situation like this have practically no interest for Socialists or other members of the working class. But the reasons for it are extremely interesting. This recently reported epilogue to the war against Turkey proves more conclusively than anything else could that the whole affair has had its root in economic necessity. Hatred of the Turk and his religion had nothing to do with it; as soon as he was out of the way the Christians fought one another as lustily as they had him. When the Balkan war first broke out reference was made in the REVIEW to the statement by a German writer that it was all caused by the Bulgarian pig. At this stage of the proceedings one is tempted to remark that the Bulgarian is not the only pig involved. In the beginning all the allied nations really need commercial routes and a fair chance to develop their resources. Now that they seem to have a chance to get more, there is no limit to their desires.

**French and German Army Bills.**—The French must increase their army because the Germans are about to do so, and the Germans must increase theirs because the French are certain to. It is an endless chain, a vicious circle.

In France the increase is to be brought about by going back to a three-year military service. The two-year law was passed in 1905 and, its friends say, never fairly tried out. The French army, it appears, is in the hands of royalists and imperialists. They have run it down, it is said, to the lowest point of efficiency in order to prove that a return to the three-year system is necessary. There is much talk about their contemplating a plot

against the republic; but there is always so much of this sort of talk in France that nobody takes it very seriously.

In order to get its bill through the government has been forced to use the most arbitrary methods. There has, of course, been much opposition on the part of the soldiers now in service. The young men about to finish their second year have been especially rebellious since the Minister of War has announced that he intends to hold them for a third year. All over the country they have been holding protest meetings in the barracks and in other ways voicing their discontent. Their demonstrations have been ruthlessly suppressed and many of them have been cruelly punished for no fault except the very human desire to regain their freedom when it was promised them.

The Socialist party and the Confederation General du Travail have been persistently persecuted for opposing the law. It is customary for the workers of Paris to gather in the famous old cemetery of Père-Lachaise on May 25 to commemorate the fall of the martyrs who were shot down there on that day at the end of the Commune. This year this gathering was to be turned into a demonstration against the new military law. A few days before the 25th the government forbade the holding of it. The Socialist deputies made a violent attack on the ministry for the suppression of free speech and finally secured the right to have the meeting held in another place. On the 25th, then, 150,000 Parisian working people gathered and protested with all their power against the project of the government.

The government did one other thing which seems even more tyrannical. On May 27, in Paris and 88 other towns, the headquarters of Socialist and labor organizations were broken open by the police, and papers and other property were destroyed or taken. One judge calmly stole 50,000 post cards which were to be used in gathering signatures to a petition against the passage of the law. The police authorities, who were acting under the instructions of the Prime Minister, claim that they suspected a syndicalist plot. So far as one can learn from the newspapers the papers stolen are still in possession

of the police and no account whatever has been given of them.

The German bill provides for an increase of about 160,000 men in the "effective" force and for numerous forts, fleets of dirigibles, etc. One good result of the military discussion in the Reichstag has been the flood of light turned on military affairs. Just at the time when the Kaiser was celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary and the nation was thinking of the great national uprising in 1813, the German people discovered that their government is as graft-ridden as any and that the army is the very center of graft. It was in connection with the debate on the new military measure that Comrade Karl Liebknecht made his astounding revelations of the international character of the armament companies and of the systematic bribing of French papers by the sacred Krupp gun concern. As a result of these revelations and other things which have happened, the German Minister of War has just handed in his resignation.

**Paying the Piper.**—In one respect there is a comical uniformity about the proceedings in Germany and France: the very persons who are most eager to provide for increased armies and navies are most modest when it comes to footing the bills. In France the financial measures proposed to defray the new expenses appear absolutely ridiculous. The French government is already facing a deficit for the current year, and the new military bill, besides necessitating a large immediate expenditure, will raise this deficit to about \$200,000,000. It is proposed to meet the difficulties of the situation by making a large loan and levying indirect and inheritance taxes. An income tax the sponsors for the bill are not willing to accept.

In Germany the situation is not quite so bad, but the Conservatives, the great landholders, have steadily opposed an income tax, insisting that the necessary funds be raised by levying new taxes on the necessities of life, especially on sugar. In its final form the bill exempted the ruling families of the empire, the *Fuersten*, from the operation of the tax measures involved in it.

**The Attitude of the Socialists.**—In both countries the Socialists have fought the

proposed measures by advocating a citizen army democratically controlled and pledged to no service but that involved in defense. In France, as has already been indicated, a bitter fight was made against the jingoism of the government. The ministry has used every means available to fan the ancient hatred of the Germans. The capitalist newspapers, the vaudeville theaters, the bill-boards—every means at hand has been utilized to stultify the public mind, to rob it of its reason, to rouse the primitive desire for revenge. For a time the anti-German madness seemed so rampant as to make all opposition useless. But our French comrades are excellent fighters in this sort of conflict. They finally got some 800,000 signatures to their petition against the passage of the three-year law. Of course, this had no immediate effect. The law will be passed. But the labor movement will come through the fight stronger than ever. It is true that the Socialist Party is losing many of its middle-class supporters, but it will manage to get on without them. It is interesting, by the way, to note that whereas ten years ago the universities were teeming with Socialists, students and faculties alike deserted when there came a real fight for something worth fighting about, the universities are now said to be violently nationalist.

In Germany the Socialist group in the Reichstag had a difficult problem in tactics to solve. It has, of course, fought hard and consistently against the military law as a whole. Some of the addresses delivered by our German comrades were masterpieces of working-class thought and speech. But when it came to voting on the financial provision for the increase in forces they had to choose between voting against all measures proposed and making an attempt to secure a new tax law as favorable as possible to the working-class. They chose the latter alternative. All authorities agree that it was due to the 110 Socialist deputies that a direct property tax was levied to defray the new expenditures. In a formal statement to the public the members of the group reaffirm their opposition to the bill and everything with it, but express some slight satisfaction at having saddled the new taxes on the wealthier classes.



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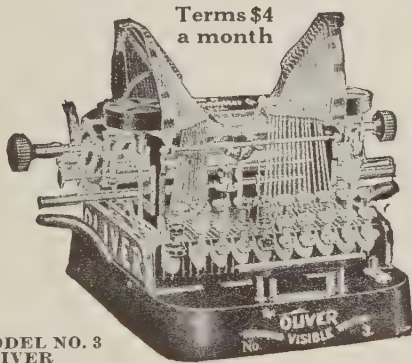
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keyboard, automatic line spacer, the double type bar, insuring perfect alignment; the downward stroke, giving light action; speed escapement, guaranteeing equal spacing between the letters; light elastic key touch, left hand carriage return, finger release key, type facing upward for cleaning, light-running carriage, the greatest manifold power, writing in colors, and above all, it is simple. We recommend it because of its utter simplicity. It is the kind of a typewriter that will stand the wear and tear that makes junk of most machines. You can use it a business lifetime and the chances are that you will never require repairs or even adjusting. If you want a typewriter for your own use, the Oliver No. 3 is the most desirable. It is not so heavy but that it can be moved around easily. There is no use in paying a greater price and it is folly to spend money on second-hand machines or cheap, inferior makes in view of this offer. Over 12,000 of these typewriters have been supplied by this Syndicate during the last few months. Each machine is a perfect machine, complete with every device and every feature that ever went out with this model. We supply the metal carrying case, cleaning and oiling outfit, ribbon and complete illustrated instruction book—nothing extra to buy. Each machine is guaranteed against defect of material or workmanship for life.

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**Darkest Africa.**—During the first days of July a bitter labor struggle broke out in the Rand district in British South Africa. In the gold mine at New Kleinfontein there had previously been a conflict about a matter of hours. It had been adjusted and the men had returned to work. But the company insisted on keeping the strike-breakers. The men went out again. This proved the beginning of a general struggle. There has long been a feeling of discontent throughout the gold fields. The conditions of labor in the South African mines are so terrible that the strongest man can endure them only a few years. Most of the miners die of diseases contracted at their work. In addition wages are bad and the companies and government refuse to hear complaints. Since the companies control all the papers it is practically impossible

for the men to get any publicity for their grievances.

The cable dispatches are confused, but it seems that practically all the white workers of the region came out and completely tied up the city of Johannesburg. For one night there were no electric lights, and practically no street-cars were running. The English soldiers were called out and by killing about forty persons they were able to restore "order." The strike is now said to be over. The men seem to have gained little but the privilege of laying their grievances before the government. An incidental good resulting from the fight will be the advertising of South African conditions throughout the world. Workingmen should not allow themselves to be decoyed there after such a warning as the cablegrams have given during the past few weeks.

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# New Books

**American Syndicalism, The I. W. W.** By John Graham Brooks. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50 net.

In his new and fascinating volume, *American Syndicalism*, which Mr. Brooks mistakenly calls the I. W. W., he gives so much vital data on the development and tactics of that revolutionary organization as to render it invaluable to the student of economics and sociology. We are free to confess his is the broadest and fairest portrayal we have yet seen from the pen of an outsider. Mr. Brooks' sympathy of vision is truly remarkable although, summed up, his opinion of the I. W. W.'s chief value lies in what he calls its ability to shock society into a much needed economic inventory. Much of what he counts its weakness is really its chief source of strength. For instance, page 114, he says in criticizing the I. W. W. for its insistence upon the pre-eminence of the industrial worker, "The struggle toward the larger life to which the world's good will is committed is a task too heavy and too sacred to be borne and shared alone by any 'class.' It will forever remain a human task, from which no soul will be shut out who wills to help."

Mr. Brooks agrees with many ill-informed socialists who fancy they see anarchistic tendencies in the I. W. W. (which he again confuses with the European Syndicalist movement), but he says, "To state the facts of this anarchist tendency is not wholly to condemn the movement."

When the tenant farm hands in Italy wish to enter into partnership with the landlords and share the profits (page 176, he says), "The anarchist type in the movement wars against this, precisely as our I. W. W. attack all labor contracts or agreements with employers."

He fails to realize that this attitude is the finest kind of socialism, the socialism that, in waging the class war, knows the slightest compromise with the enemy is a source of ultimate division and failure. The I. W. W. is essentially socialist in aim and tactics since it bases all its activity on class solidarity. It knows that large bodies of men can never be *persuaded* through humanitarian or philanthropic principles to

stick and act together and that class interest, itself alone, will weld them into a true fighting organization. Mr. Brooks, himself, points out that "The man with a hundred dollars in the bank is (sometimes) as tenacious of his small savings as the rich are of their greater savings. . . . It stands for a fact with which they will have to reckon . . . in their last attempt to take over the productive and distributive machinery of this country." This is precisely the reason why the I. W. W. refuses to form alliances with the capitalist class that will cause workingmen to imagine that they are on the road out of proletarian ranks and into the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. The very fact that Italian syndicalists are able to prevent farm laborers from entering into profit sharing contracts with the farmers, shows (contrary to the claims of Mr. Brooks) a very high degree of organization.

**My Life.** By August Bebel. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. \$2.14 post-paid.

This autobiography of the famous leader of the German Social Democratic Party not only contains the story, from the inside, of the rise of this powerful political influence, but throws many interesting sidelights on the politics of such men as Bismarck and Lassalle. Bebel gives a vivid description of the poverty of his early life, of his wanderings as a craftsman in search of work all through Germany—the Germany before the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870-71, and before the Unification. Settling afterward at Leipzig, he soon became involved in the "Labor Movement," which was to give birth to the Social Democratic Party.

Bebel, when elected to the German Reichstag, quickly came into conflict with the law. He tells in this volume how he was convicted of high treason, for his attitude toward the Franco-German war, and had spent some years in prison. While in prison he was re-elected to the Reichstag. When this volume closes, the triumph of Bebel and his host of followers is well assured.

The book is a human document of remarkable interest and significance.

# NEWS AND VIEWS

**Here's a Hot One.**—The following motion was passed at a meeting of Local Cowiche, Washington, held on July 6, 1913:

Moved that the National Committee be requested to take immediate steps for the reduction of the salary of the National Secretary to one thousand dollars a year and eliminate all junketing trips on the part of politicians to Europe and elsewhere and use the funds to help the miners of West Virginia win their struggle against a brutal governor who is backed by an inhuman oligarchy of mine owners.

The members of this local are anxious to help the persecuted miners in every way, but feel that a National Committee that deliberately wastes the funds of the working class in sending Victor Berger to Europe, in sending a white-washing committee to West Virginia where in a swell hotel among the rich a report was written clearly in favor of a lying, labor-hating governor, and in allowing the excessive wastes of the last campaign is unfit through any of its agencies to handle funds for the distressed and deceived miners in West Virginia. Morris A. Jaffe, secretary-treasurer.

**From John Kenneth Turner.**—I have just read your July broadside on the West Virginia affair. Congratulations! John Kenneth Turner.

Comrade Turner has been in the heart of West Virginia affairs and his praise is very welcome. All THE REVIEW wants is the Truth. We are here to serve the working class and that class only.

**From San Diego.**—Attention of loyal comrades of the Socialist party is called to the fact that E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee are now serving jail sentences as a result of their conviction and sentence for "conspiracy" in connection with the San Diego free speech fight last year.

Incidentally a fine of \$300.00 each was assessed against them. If these fines are not paid they will be compelled to discharge them by jail service at the rate of \$2.00 per day, making an additional 150 days for each prisoner.

Branch San Diego has undertaken to raise the amount necessary to pay these fines. Our members are contributing to the limit of their ability, but owing to the heavy expenses entailed upon our organization during the past 18 months, it is impossible for us to raise the entire sum here.

Will you not help us to give back these comrades to their families and the Socialist movement at the earliest possible moment?

Contributions will be received for by J. R. Cothran, Sec.-Treas., Branch San Diego, 1521 N St., San Diego, Cal.

In reply to article in July REVIEW comrade Cothran writes:

"No one who is familiar with the details of the free speech fight in San Diego and who has a desire to be just can truthfully impute any wrong motives or conduct to Comrade Bauer throughout that bitter struggle. From start to finish, he was in the thick of the fight and his courage in the face of a vicious public sentiment, fanned into fury by a prostituted press, elicited the admiration of friend and foe alike."

**Revolutionary Barbers,** industrial unionists, Socialists, and others, it is important that you communicate with John L. Galen, 521 E. 15th St., Kansas City, Mo.

**From Colorado Springs Colorado.**—We have two study clubs here that have decided that Marcy's "Shop Talks" is clear to any student who will study a little. We have no use for "bunk" here.—P. J. Phelps, secretary.

**From Plebs Club, London, England.**—Enclosed find two pounds for forty REVIEWS for the next three months.—W. H. Mainwaring, secretary.

**Will the Committee Explain?**—Local Lima, Ohio, of the S. P. on June 24th, passed the following resolution: Local Lima, of the S. P. commends the N. C. of the S. P. for sending an investigation committee into the mining districts of West Virginia, where war is carried on between the miners and mine owners and their political henchmen. In view of the fact that the S. P. pays all the expenses of the aforesaid committee, we demand to know why this committee went straight way to the miners' very enemies to get their information concerning the conditions existing there.

We, the workers, know that the philosophy of Socialism teaches that the working class must emancipate themselves and also represent themselves to get best results. Especially in that the personnel of this committee was one in which we had implicit confidence to fathom the depths of this struggle in the interest of the workers, but it is sad to relate our confidence was shaken.

However, we expected a real proletarian investigation, but again we were disappointed and find that our committee conducted only a petty bourgeois investigation. The intelligent workers within the S. P. are fast gaining control of their organization and in the near future such deplorable action as we are now compelled to witness can no longer take place and we call upon the proletarians everywhere, within the S. P. to get control of the organization and conduct it in the interests of their class. Local Lima, O., S. P.

**The Little Rock Negro Comrades** are holding meetings to discuss resolutions in which they demand that the churches, the ministers and the religious papers take up the evils re-



sulting from the present economic system and take their stand with the working class. We wish all the comrades would take this same action as it might influence the church to line up with those who work.

**The Truth**, a weekly paper, published by the Socialist party in Tacoma, Washington, and edited by Leslie E. Aller, is one of the liveliest periodicals in the western movement. Their recent anti-military issue should have been read by every man in the army and navy. Full of facts about compulsory army service in the United States, this paper takes up all current events from the Socialist and working class viewpoint and is class-conscious and revolutionary from the first to the last line. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year and the office of the *Truth* is located at 1911 South "D" street, Tacoma, Washington. Send in a short-time subscription and see what a paper the working class has in the west.

**What's the Matter with This.**—Enclosed is one *toadskin*. Please send me one in a hurry, 20 more of the June edition of the best working class magazine in the universe. I did not have enough REVIEWS to go around. The slaves are buying, they are getting interested, the REVIEW is educating them. Yours for Industrial Freedom, Peter Henry.

**A Live Paper in California**, edited by Comrade Sauer of San Diego is one of the best militant papers in the west. Comrade Sauer will be remembered as one of the men who was driven out of that city by the vigilants because he printed the truth about the free-speech fight. The paper is on the job to stay and we have made arrangements whereby we can fill yearly subscriptions for *The San Diego Herald* and the REVIEW, both one year, for \$1.00. If you are going to renew your REVIEW subscription and want this California paper, here is the chance to get both for \$1.00.

**New Zealand Socialist Party.**—Auckland Branch. Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find eight pounds. The May number is splendid and the REVIEW is selling without effort. We seldom have a copy left after a fortnight. E. Jensen, literary secretary.

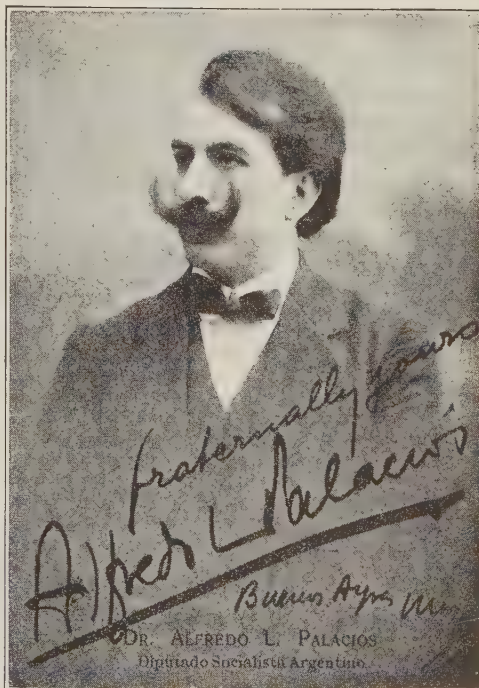
**Longbeach, California.**—Dear Comrades: I received your notification of the expiration of my subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and herewith enclose one dollar for one year's renewal. Would be glad to send \$10.00 for Socialist library, but cannot—I think every renewal for the REVIEW will be my last, because time is rushing on and at 79 years of age, my sight is getting dim and dollars getting less, but I want to do a little for the cause nearest my heart while I stay. The REVIEW is good, very good and here's hoping it may live to see its ideals attained.—Mrs. S. M. J. Craven.

**Argentina. A Good Beginning.** But the best news comes from South America. On March 30 Comrade Del Valle Iberlucea was elected a member of the senate of Argentina and Comrades Repetto and Bravo were elected to the Chamber of

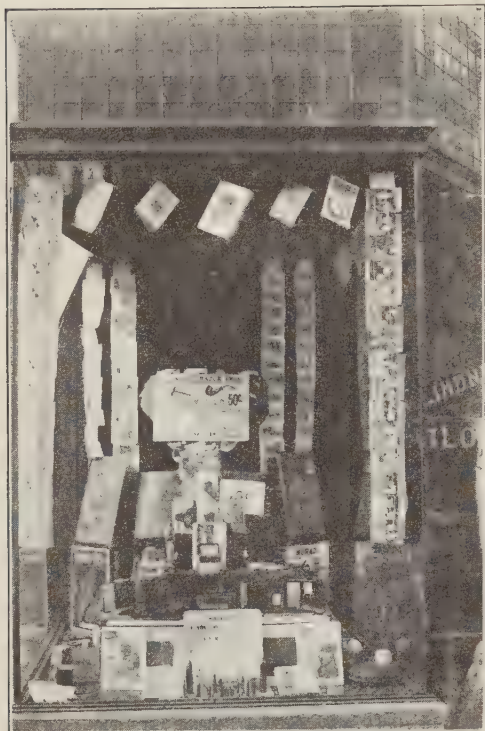
Deputies. Last year two Socialists were elected to the latter body, so the total representation of the working class in the parliament of Argentina now numbers five. When we recall that until recently the proletarian movement has been repressed in the most highhanded fashion in the South American republic this beginning comes as a happy surprise.



ENRIQUE EL VALLE IBERLUCEA.



ALFREDO L. PALACIOS.



What's the Matter with this for a Socialist tailor's show window? If you want to run into a real live Pennsylvania "Red" drop into Comrade Lindner's store at Rochester.

**How About It!**—I have read the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and find it always on the job. If more people would read it there would be more union men in our country and fewer scabs. G. E. W. Barron, La.

**From a Railroader.**—Please send thirty copies of the July issue P. D. Q. Will not be satisfied until at least 100 REVIEWS are coming to Lancaster every month. J. A. B.

**Law and Order in Oregon.**—A letter received from fellow worker W. J. Edgeworth makes interesting reading: "As I was deported from Marshfield, Oregon, I wish in future you would send my two subscriptions to Santa Rosa, Cal."

Fellow worker Edgeworth, secretary of the local I. W. W., along with fellow worker Everest after being thrown in jail were escorted out into the country by a mob of 116 God and Country people made up of cockroach business men and told not to return. The Smith-Powers Company have been forced to close one saw mill on account of the strike and the pulp mill also closed down. Hence these lawless agitators must be deported so that prosperity might return. Later reports announce that the local police raided the secretaries' rooms and confiscated the books, also in the name of Law and Order.

## The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine

By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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Spartans used slaves as soldiers and murdered them at the end of the war.  
A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.  
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Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.  
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.  
Rome's organized working men and working women.  
History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.  
ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

### Partial Contents of Volume II

How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.  
Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient Egypt.  
A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.  
Brotherhoods of workers in India.  
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.  
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.  
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**Labor Day in Mexico.**—In the annals of the history of Mexico there will be recorded a great Labor Day celebration. Last year there was no public demonstration of a first May Labor Day in Mexico City. Only a few Socialists and Progressive Thinkers, some thirty men, held a meeting in a private place. But this year, oh, what a contrast! A procession of some ten thousand artisans, laborers and labor unions marched through the principal streets of the city, past the National Palace. Strange and significant it is to say, not a single spectator could be seen from the balconies, whereas a few days later, on May the fifth, the National Holiday in memory of the notable repulse of the French in 1862, all balconies were crowded with spectators, to view the military parade. All the various groups of the Labor Day Parade had their standards and the Socialists had a beautiful banner, the bearers of which were three young working girls. Rumor has it that a few days previously, the government was very much opposed to any kind of a Labor Day parade; but some strong pressure must have been brought upon it, from somewhere, and the public demonstration was granted. Speeches were held by Socialists and Liberals at the Jaurez Monument and other places. Many factories had to close, though much against their liking. The workers who attended the parade, made the entire day a holiday. The business houses were likewise closed. Mexico City need not stand back in the success of its Labor Day celebration of 1913, the first it ever had. It was a grand success in the truest sense of the word and culminated in a celebration in the evening in the Hicoteacatl Theatre. The audience consisted entirely of working people, sprinkled with a few of the bourgeois class, but not one of the aristocratic society nor any officials of the government. Only some half dozen gendarmes were at the entrance of the theatre. The large hall was full to its capacity. All seats were taken up; many had to stand. The stage was nicely and appropriately decorated. All the standards were prominently displayed on the stage. Speeches were given by highly gifted orators. One being a deputy in the National Congress, another a lawyer, and to the writer's great surprise, these were outspoken Socialists. They spoke very clearly and in a masterly way before their attentive silent listeners—the Mexican workmen, on the economic side of Socialism and its international aspect. In fact, the whole speech-making during the three and one-half hours concentrated and terminated on the mighty and magic word—Socialism. A fine string band and a piano on the stage with fine singing was also provided for. At eleven thirty, the audience rose to a man and the National anthem and the Marseillaise were sung and all went home, well pleased and thoughtful.—Carlos C. Ring.

**Lost.**—Fifty thousand members of the Socialist party during the past year. A reward of many years' advance on the Socialist Revolution will be paid for their prompt return. No questions asked.—From *The Party Builder*.

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### Cabin Creek, by Price Williams

THE subservient newspapers of West Virginia have been displaying lurid dispatches of those "lawless strikers on Cabin Creek" again. The strikers are represented as having broken the terms of the "settlement" and using force to get other miners to strike.

I have been with the miners in the midst of Cabin Creek District during and previous to the two reigns of martial rule and I know they do not shoot fellowmen who fail to see everything in the same light. They will, however, shoot to protect their families, lives and homes when the supposed-to-be legal guardians lie down on their job and fail to protect human life.

Among decent men in Cabin Creek there is a continuous "open season" on those two-legged inhuman brutes, the mine guards. It is a last resort. The Kanawha Co. officials claim they know who is now shooting up the scenery in Cabin Creek and promise indictments. I hope they get them, for the strikers are not shooting their laboring comrades from ambush even if they have been bulldozed or misled into working. The West Virginia strike never reached its enormous proportions through force among the workers. The leaders among the men (not the U. M. W. officials) know that their hope lies in reason.

The light of publicity on the Baldwin-Feltz Agency has resulted in a diminution of their power in the Cabin Creek field, though they are stronger than ever in the New River-Winding Gulf field of the young District 29. The Baldwin Agency must now show how reckless the miners in Cabin Creek become when relieved of their depressing personal influence. Hence the renewed firing in the hills and the reports to the press.

The strikers, although as unsettled as they were, are not forced to use guns now. Thanks to the effects of publicity and the Senatorial investigation.

The miners in Cabin Creek have not submitted to an odious and enforced settlement, despite all press reports which have been issued, but they are no longer helpless, and the Baldwin-Feltz Agency no longer reigns supreme in Cabin Creek District.

The official "settlement" of the strike was never sanctioned by the privates in the miners' union. They who are fearless in the face of the death traps of coal mines were not bluffed by H. D. Hatfield's ultimatum.

I was in Cabin Creek District April 28-30 after two weeks in the New River Field. Most of the men had heard of the official settlement and the general comment was: "What have

we gained? The state law, enforced, gives us all that and more." The more optimistic thought the settlement by the U. M. W. officials was to allow the strikers to rest and so they did not at once protest except among themselves. When the *Labor Argus* published its statement about "Haggerty as a Traitor," they had good reason to believe it might be so. The *Argus* had been with them in the thick of the fight and they knew that it told the truth no matter whom it might strike.

If Haggerty is not a traitor, he is playing a game too deep for average intelligence to comprehend. He must prove his honesty at once or become an outcast among laboring men. Of course one who has rendered a service to the interests, as he has done, will be well taken care of. While the gods of greed have use for a traitor they pay him well.

The miners of Cabin Creek had struggled for over a year and for the principle of the cause were willing to continue their great struggle. But they must sign a statement and go back to the mines with nothing gained. Haggerty had arranged it. It was the Interests that cried for the much-lauded peace. They could see that a continuance of the miners' determined stand was bound to win.

But the West Virginia miners see a light in the fact that Thos. P. Haggerty is not the United Mine Workers themselves. They know that laboring men are helping laboring men and the "man behind" will have more influence in the great result than the man at the head who plays for peace and a "settlement" where none can be.

**Albuquerque.**—I have taken the REVIEW thirteen years and consider that it is better now than ever before. "Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may," the "line" in this case being the class struggle.—J. M. K.

**From Riggers and Stevedores Union.**—Comrades: Enclosed find \$3.00 for three yearly subscriptions to the Fighting Magazine. I want Industrial Unionism to spread.—D. C.

**From Sacramento.**—Will you kindly increase our bundle order for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to 150. The pure and simplers say it is an I. W. W. publication, so we can afford to boost it along.—A. B.

**Mogollon, New Mexico.**—"We have re-organized the miners' union and are going to try for eight hours. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the best tonic a workingman can take."—E. J. M.

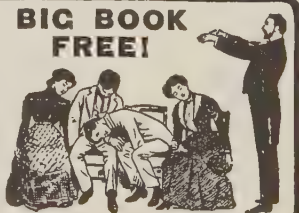
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**Opposes More Delegates.**—We are in receipt of a resolution passed by Branch 3, S. P., 207 East 10th street, New York City, from which we quote the following:

"Whereas, a special report of the last meeting of the National Committee from the pen of Comrade Engdahl in "The New York Call" of May 13th, states, that the National Committee had initiated a National referendum for the purpose of amending Article XII of our constitution, for the purpose of increasing our delegation to the International Congress, and

Whereas, to initiate a referendum at this time constitutes a flagrant violation of Article XV, Sec. 3, of the aforementioned constitution, and

The identical report enumerates a multitude of imperatively necessary work which has to be neglected because the party has to embark upon a policy of retrenchment."

The expense of the Chicago National Committee meeting amounted to something like \$7,000, and the cost for sending the increased number of delegates to the international congress would amount to about \$20,000. This sum would be enough to start a party-owned printing plant, or to carry out much other necessary work. Their resolution read as follows:

"Whereas, same money was collected mostly from the poor, exploited and down-trodden proletariat and such money being the product of onerous and arduous toil in the struggle for existence representing in many cases sacrifices and bread taken out of the mouth of innocent children, same being given for the great cause of liberty and emancipation of the wage slaves and

"Whereas, party conventions have been proven to be utterly unproductive and futile, are harmful, usually leading to friction, disharmony, dissensions and split as instanced lately in Washington and as borne out by the reluctance of the Austrian party to hold conventions for fear of splitting its heterogeneous elements into atoms, and we being opposed to sending delegates to a junketing trip while the workers rot in misery and

"Whereas, one of our delegates to the last international congress declared, the decisions of the international congress have only academic value and another delegate states that there was nothing of importance transacted, but that it was only a reunion of men who had become old warhorses in the movement; a friendly gathering

"Therefore, be it resolved, that branch No. 3, Socialist Party, in regular meeting assembled, expresses its emphatic disapproval of the action of the national committee in arbitrarily overriding the national constitution and pledge itself to engage in an active campaign in this direction to the end that our party may become an effective and efficient organization for the dissemination of radical ideas and inculcation of Socialist principles and not partake in the nature of a lizard that destroys with the hind parts what his foreparts build up, and be it further

"Resolved, that we submit this resolution to

the central committee of the local New York for approval and also send copies to the *New York Call*, *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* and other radical papers." Fraternally submitted, Branch No. 3, Socialist Party, New York city.

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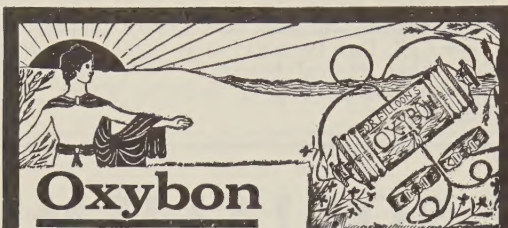
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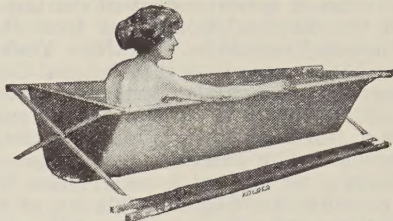
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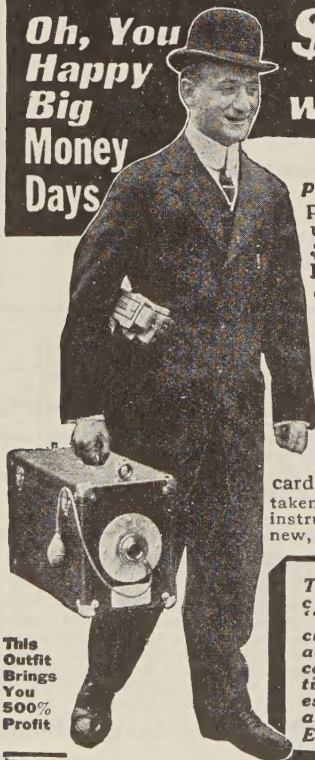
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